

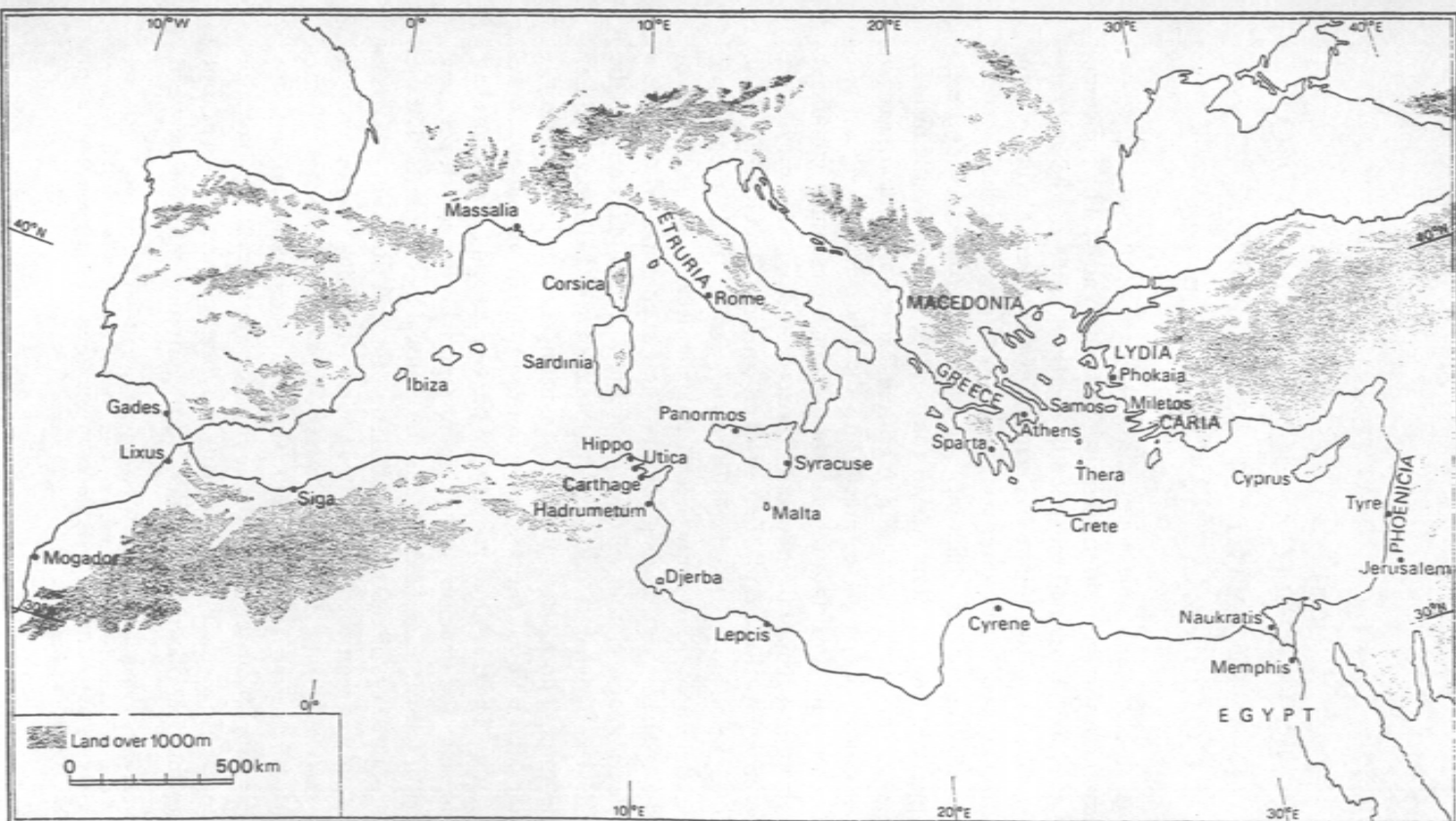
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CHAPTER 2

NORTH AFRICA IN THE PERIOD OF PHOENICIAN AND GREEK COLONIZATION, c. 800 to 323 BC

Before the first millennium BC, the only part of Africa for whose history there survive written records is the Nile Valley. The remainder even of North Africa had remained beyond the limits of the activities and knowledge of the literate civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean. But from around 800 BC there took place an extension of the sphere of the literate civilizations which brought the North African littoral west of Egypt for the first time within the bounds of recoverable history. This came about through the maritime expansion of two eastern Mediterranean peoples, the Greeks and the Phoenicians.¹ These two peoples were not in origin related, though there was much commerce and reciprocal cultural influence between them, and they were always in competition and often in open conflict. The Greeks, whose language belonged to the Indo-European family, had spread from mainland Greece to occupy Crete and the islands of the Aegean and the western coast of Asia Minor. The Phoenicians, who spoke a Semitic language closely related to Hebrew, inhabited Canaan, the coastal area of what is now the Republic of the Lebanon. Neither people, though both were conscious of a distinct nationality, constituted an integrated political entity. Both comprised numerous self-contained 'city-states'. The maritime expansion of the Greeks and Phoenicians had two aspects: the development of trade, especially the search for new sources of foodstuffs and metals; and the removal by colonization of the excess population of the homelands. The principal direction of Greek expansion was westwards to Sicily and Italy, but they also penetrated south-eastwards into Levantine waters: around the middle of the seventh century BC some of them began to trade with and settle in Egypt, and a little later others began to colonize the coast of Cyrenaica to the west of Egypt. The Phoenicians had long traded with Egypt, but during this period they extended their activities into the western

¹ These names are not those by which these peoples referred to themselves. 'Greeks' we derive from the Latin *Graeci*: the people called themselves (as they still do) *Hellenas*. 'Phoenicians' we derive from the Greek *Phoinikes* (Latinized as *Phoenices*): the people called themselves *Kinanu*, or 'Canaanites'.



17 The Mediterranean in the era of Phoenician and Greek colonization.

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Mediterranean, as far as Spain, and planted colonies along the North African coast west of Cyrenaica.

It should be stressed that Greek and Phoenician colonization had a different character from that of the European nations in recent times. It was unusual for a colony to remain subject to the state which planted it. Any permanent settlement was normally organized from the first as an independent city-state, though it would usually maintain strong sentimental ties with its mother-city. It should also be pointed out that while the immigration and settlement of aliens provide to some extent a common theme in the history of Egypt and of the rest of North Africa in this period, the colonizers in Egypt and those further west had quite different experiences. In Egypt they found a concentrated population organized in a sophisticated state, which was able to impose conditions on the newcomers. Along the North African littoral west of Egypt, which was inhabited by peoples to whom the Greeks applied the general name 'Libyans',¹ there were no such concentrations of population or strong states, and the Greeks and Phoenicians were able to displace or subjugate the natives and establish their own self-contained and independent communities.

THE SAITE DYNASTY IN EGYPT, 663 TO 525 BC

By the eighth century BC Egypt had greatly declined, both in external strength and in internal cohesion, since the days of its glory under the New Kingdom. Egyptian control over Syria and over Kush to the south had been lost. In Syria the dominant power was now the empire of Assyria, while in Kush there had arisen an independent kingdom with its capital at Napata. Internally, the central power of the Pharaoh had effectively collapsed. Upper Egypt was ruled as a virtually independent principality by the High Priest of the god Amun-Re' at Thebes,² while in Lower Egypt there were rival dynasties of Pharaohs, and effective power passed increasingly to the hereditary governors of the individual 'nomes' (administrative divisions) of the Delta. The later Pharaohs of the New Kingdom had adopted the practice of granting allotments of land to the foreign (especially Libyan) soldiers whom they employed in

¹ On the name 'Libyans', see p. 141.

² Amun-Re' had become, with the rise of Thebes to political dominance in Egypt, the most powerful, and the most richly endowed, of the Egyptian gods. Every Pharaoh was officially a son of Amun-Re'. With the decline of pharaonic power after the New Kingdom, the High Priest of Amun-Re' increasingly arrogated to himself effective power in the south of Egypt.

their armies. The descendants of these soldiers now formed a distinct class, called by Greek writers the *machimoi* or 'warriors', enjoying hereditary possession of their allotments in return for military service. Their primary allegiance, it would seem, was not to the Pharaoh, but to the governor of the nome in which they held their land. With this support, the nome-chiefs were able to defy the authority of the titular Pharaohs, and became increasingly absorbed in a power struggle among themselves.

The integrity of the kingdom was briefly restored, not by the Egyptians, but by their erstwhile subjects of Kush. The kings of Napata established control first over Thebes and then over the petty chiefs of the Delta during the latter half of the eighth century BC. But they failed in their attempts to reassert Egyptian power in Syria, running up against the might of Assyria, and their ineffectual aggressions brought down upon Egypt the Assyrian army. Egypt thus became, from the 670s, a battleground between the forces of Assyria and Kush. In 671 the Assyrians drove the Kushite king Taharqa from the Delta and forced the submission of the nome-chiefs, among the more important of whom was Necho, chief of Sais. But there remained much support for Taharqa in the Delta, and the nome-chiefs periodically intrigued for his return. In 669 Taharqa was able to march north and occupy Lower Egypt, but the Assyrians expelled him again in 666. In 664 Taharqa's successor at Napata, Tanwetamani, marched north in his turn and penetrated into the Delta, where he apparently killed Necho of Sais. But the Assyrians drove him back, and this time pushed into Upper Egypt and subjected Thebes to a ruinous sack (663). The continual superiority of the Assyrians over the Kushites and Egyptians in these wars was probably in part due to their possession of an iron weaponry, while Egypt and Kush were still using bronze.

From this unpromising situation, a son of Necho of Sais, called Psamtek (whose name the Greeks rendered as 'Psammetichos'), emerged as the ruler of a reunited and independent Egypt, establishing the dynasty conventionally enumerated as the XXVIth. Precisely how this happened is unclear. For official purposes Psamtek reckoned the beginning of his reign from the death of Taharqa. One possibility is that he was appointed as viceroy of Egypt, perhaps with the nominal status of Pharaoh, by the Assyrians after the repulse of Tanwetamani. However, Egyptian traditions reported by the Greek historian Herodotus, which patriotically fail to recall the circumstance of conquest by the Assyrians, assert that Egypt was divided between twelve 'kings', among

whom was Psamtek, and that Psamtek by force overthrew the other eleven and seized sole power for himself. However fanciful the details, this story no doubt preserves an authentic tradition of fighting against the rival nome-chiefs of the Delta. Psamtek also had to vindicate his claim to rule Egypt against Assyria and Kush. He profited by the decline of Assyrian power after the 660s, but apparently some fighting against the Assyrians was necessary: an Assyrian inscription refers to the sending of military forces by Gyges, King of Lydia in Asia Minor (who died in 652), to aid the rebellion of the King of Egypt. In the south Tanwetamani still controlled the resources of Kush, and claimed to be the rightful king of Egypt. During Psamtek's early years, Thebes continued to acknowledge Tanwetamani as Pharaoh. A Greek story of a campaign by Psamtek against an 'Ethiopian' king called 'Tementhes' (Tanwetamani?) perhaps recalls fighting at this time. In 654 Psamtek was able to secure recognition at Thebes, by arranging the adoption of one of his daughters as heir to the 'God's Wife' of Amun-Re'. (This office had replaced that of high priest as the most important in the Theban priesthood, and was at this time held by a sister of Taharqa.) A garrison was placed at Elephantine to guard the southern frontier against Kush. Other garrisons at Marea and Daphnae protected Egypt against the Libyans in the west and against attack from Syria in the east.

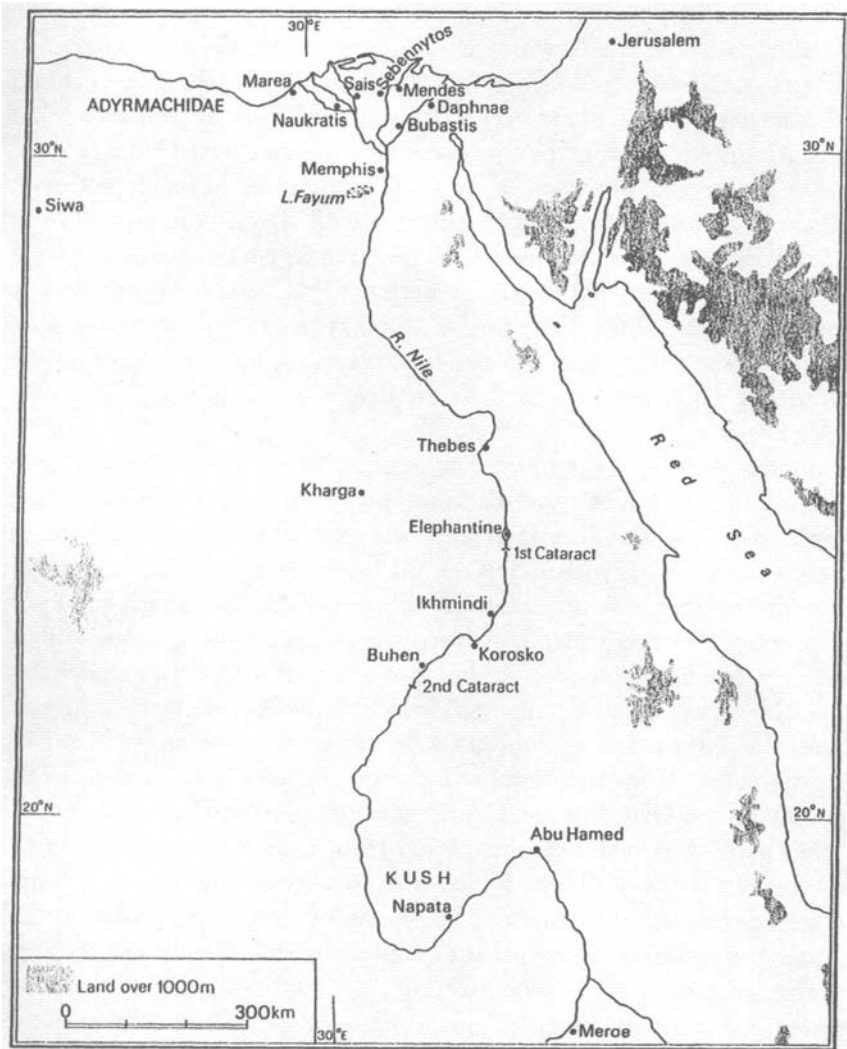
It appears that Psamtek and his successors of the Saite Dynasty were anxious to claim that they had restored the glories of Old Egypt. This at least is a plausible explanation of the conscious archaism which characterized Egyptian civilization during the Saite period. There was a great vogue for art in an archaizing style, especially in the paintings and relief sculptures of funerary monuments, which were often copied exactly from ancient models. This style, it is true, can already be traced at Memphis under the Kushite Dynasty, but it certainly attained its fullest expression and its greatest popularity under the Saite kings. The archaizing style in fact outlived the Saite Dynasty, and persisted into the third century BC. An interesting feature is that the models for Saite art were usually taken from the remote IV-VI Dynasties of the Old Kingdom, the great pyramid-builders of Memphis, ignoring the more recent period of imperial greatness under the New Kingdom Dynasties (XVIII-XIX) of Thebes. This was perhaps an expression of local partisanship by a dynasty of northern origin, against the cultural dominance of the now overshadowed southern capital of Thebes. Saite archaism was not restricted to art. The period also saw the revival

of cults, priesthoods and titles of the Old Kingdom which had long been neglected or defunct.

Yet there was a crucial difference between the Saite period and the past glories whose memory it cultivated. The Saite achievement did not rest upon native effort alone. The independence, military power and material prosperity of Saite Egypt depended to a large extent on foreigners. Most important of these were the Greeks, who first came to Egypt in large numbers under Psamtek. Apart from its significance for the actual course of Egyptian history, this involvement of Greeks in the affairs of Egypt marks an important historiographical development, since from the reign of Psamtek a considerable amount of information on Egyptian history can be derived from the written records of the Greeks. The main strength of Psamtek's army was a force of mercenaries from Greece and Caria (in Asia Minor). Under a later king, this force is said to have numbered 30,000. According to the tradition recorded by Herodotus, the first of these mercenaries were pirates who had landed in the Delta on a plundering expedition, and were taken into the service of Psamtek and used by him to defeat his rivals in Egypt. It is also likely that the forces sent to Psamtek's aid by Gyges of Lydia would have consisted of such mercenaries. The activities of such soldiers of fortune illustrate a less formal process than that of organized colonization by which the excess population of Greece might find its way into foreign lands. Psamtek established his mercenaries in two settlements astride the Pelusian branch of the Nile below Bubastis, which the Greeks called the *Stratopeda* or 'camps', whose site has not been precisely located. Archaeological evidence attests the presence of Greeks among the garrison of Daphnae also, while an Egyptian inscription refers to Greeks among the garrison of Elephantine. There were also apparently Phoenician mercenaries, since we hear of a 'Camp of the Tyrians' at Memphis, and, later, Jews were recruited. It was the Carians who defeated 'Tementes' for Psamtek, and the mercenaries were regularly employed in the foreign wars of the Saite kings.

The Saite kings also developed Egypt's foreign trade. Psamtek is said to have adopted a deliberate policy of encouraging Phoenician and Greek merchants to come to Egypt. The Greek traders established their own settlement at Naukratis, on the Canopic branch of the Nile. One tradition asserts that the first settlement at Naukratis was made by some Greeks of Miletos (a city in Asia Minor) who were engaged in naval operations in the Delta – whether in the service of Psamtek or as freelance adventurers is not clear. However that may be, there is no

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18 Egypt, 663-323 BC.

doubt about the commercial character of the city later on. Archaeological evidence indicates that the site was occupied by *c.* 620 BC at the latest. Naukratis was unlike most Greek colonies, which were founded as self-contained city-states by a single mother-city. It developed purely as a settlement of traders, and at first probably had few permanent settlers and little organized civic life. It was also cosmopolitan, attracting settlers from numerous Greek cities in the Aegean and Asia Minor,

as well as from Cyprus. The chief commodity exported through Naukratis to the Greek world was Egyptian corn. Other exports were linen (much in demand for use as sail-cloth by the navies of Greece and Phoenicia), papyrus (exported in the form of rope as well as writing material), and probably the valuable raw materials derived from Nubia – gold, ivory and ebony. The Greeks brought in payment a certain amount of wine and olive-oil, but above all silver. Numerous Greek silver coins of this period have been found in Egypt. Since the Egyptian economy still operated purely by barter, these coins were presumably regarded as bullion rather than as currency, and probably many were melted down after importation. There may also, however, have been a need for coined silver, to pay the large standing army of Greek mercenaries.

Quite apart from the immediate benefits which Egypt derived from the use of Greek mercenaries and the profits of trade with Greece, the Greeks in this period made at least one important contribution to the development of Egyptian civilization. It has been noted above that at the time of Psamtek's accession Egypt was still using weapons and tools of bronze. The Greeks, however, were already using iron, and it appears that it was they who, by their settlement in Egypt under the Saite Dynasty, belatedly inaugurated the Iron Age in Egypt. At any rate, the earliest archaeological evidence for the smelting of iron in Egypt comes from the Saite period, and specifically from the Greek colony at Naukratis and the Greek mercenary fort at Daphnae. On the other hand, Egypt during this period made a decisive contribution to the development of Greek civilization, for it was now that Greek art received the catalytic influence of Egyptian models. In particular, it was under the stimulus of Egyptian examples that the Greeks first began, towards the end of the seventh century BC, the development of monumental stone architecture, the construction of large buildings entirely of stone and featuring stone mouldings and columns with carved capitals and bases, and of monumental stone sculpture, the carving of life-size and larger human figures in stone.¹

Though able to defend the independence and integrity of Egypt, the Saite kings were less successful in asserting Egyptian power abroad. Psamtek, during his long reign (663–610 BC), seems prudently to have eschewed any extravagant projects. Towards the end of his reign, however, he sent forces into Syria. The empire of Assyria was now

¹ On this, see further J. Boardman, *The Greeks overseas: the archaeology of their early colonies and trade*, 2nd edn (London, 1973), 139–51.

threatened by a powerful coalition of Babylon and the Medes, and the interests of the balance of power aligned the Egyptians with their former Assyrian conquerors. In 616 Psamtek's forces operated in support of Assyria, but this aid could not prevent the capture and destruction of the Assyrian capital, Nineveh, in 612. Psamtek's son and successor, another Necho (who is the Necho of the Old Testament), who reigned from 610 until 595, campaigned personally in Syria with more substantial forces, at first in support of the claimant to the defunct throne of Assyria, and later on his own account. He had some successes, and for a short while controlled Judah and Phoenicia, but in 605 was decisively defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. The Syrian conquests were lost, though Necho was able to beat off a Babylonian attack on Egypt in 601. Necho also built up Egypt as a naval power, and maintained warships in both the Mediterranean and Red seas. As with the army, Egypt was here dependent upon foreigners, for many of Necho's ships seem to have been manned by Phoenicians and Greeks. Necho's maritime interests were directed especially towards the Red Sea. He undertook, and possibly completed, the cutting of a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, following the line of the Wadi Tumilat.¹ He also attempted to open up a sea-route between the Mediterranean and Red seas. Some Phoenicians in his service were ordered to sail around Africa from the Red Sea and return to Egypt through the Mediterranean. They are said to have achieved this, taking over two years, though many modern scholars have doubted whether they can in fact have done so. In any case, even if this feat was achieved, the sea-route was evidently judged too long or too difficult for the establishment of regular communications by it to be worth while, for there was no immediate attempt to follow up the voyage.

Necho's son and successor, Psamtek II (595-589 BC), became involved, in uncertain circumstances, in a war in Kush. In 593 Psamtek's army, including Greek and Carian mercenaries, invaded Kush and seems to have sacked the capital at Napata. Egyptian control was perhaps extended south to the Second Cataract, for there is some evidence for the presence of garrisons of Carians at Ikhmindi and Buhen. Egypt thus secured control of the gold-mines of the Wadi 'Allaqi, in the desert east of the Nile between the First and Second

¹ The sources assert that Necho abandoned the canal before it was complete. However, it appears that the canal required periodic recutting, so that it is possible that the notion that Necho failed to complete it is a false inference from the fact that it had later to be cut again by the Persian King Darius (521-486 BC): see p. 100.

Cataracts, the main gold-producing area of Nubia. There was no attempt at a permanent occupation of Kush itself, but the Kushite kingdom now ceased to present a threat to Egypt. In fact, during the sixth century BC, perhaps as a direct result of Psamtek II's invasion, the centre of the kingdom was shifted south, and Meroe replaced Napata as the capital. (See chapter 4, pp. 217-18.)

Psamtek II's son and successor, Wahibre', who took the throne-name Ha'a'ibre' (whence the 'Hophra' of the Old Testament and the 'Apries' of the Greeks), rashly resumed the offensive in Syria, and raised Judah and Phoenicia in revolt against Babylon. However, the Egyptian forces appear to have played little effective role, and to have soon been withdrawn, leaving the Babylonians to reduce Jerusalem (586) and Tyre (573). Some remnants of the defeated Jews after the fall of Jerusalem were received into Egypt and settled, according to the Old Testament, at 'Tahpanhes', probably the fort of Daphnae. The Jewish colony at Elephantine, whose existence is first attested in 494 BC, probably had its origin in the same circumstance. Under Wahibre', the Egyptian king's dependence on foreign mercenaries was shown to be doubly dangerous. In the first place, the loyalty of these foreigners was doubtful. At some point during the reign of Wahibre', the Greek and other foreign troops in the Elephantine garrison mutinied and threatened to migrate into Nubia, but were pacified by the commander of the garrison, Neshor, who recorded the incident in an extant inscription. Even more serious was the resentment aroused among the Egyptians by the presence of the foreigners. The Greek settlers in Egypt were extremely unpopular. Resentment was strongest among the warrior-class, the *machimoi*, who felt particularly slighted by the privileged position of the Greek mercenaries. These tensions came to a head when, in c. 570, Wahibre' sent aid to the Libyans of Cyrenaica, who were involved in a war with the Greek colonists of Cyrene. For this campaign he did not use his Greek mercenaries, possibly because he doubted their loyalty against fellow-Greeks, but an army of Egyptians. The Egyptian army made the long desert march westwards, only to be overwhelmingly defeated by the Cyrenaeans. To the Egyptian soldiers, this defeat by Greeks could only be due to treachery. They mutinied, declaring that Wahibre' had deliberately sent them to destruction. 'Ahmose, a high-ranking palace official sent to appease the rebels, instead put himself at their head. Wahibre' was apparently forced to accept the installation of 'Ahmose as co-king (569). Three years later he raised his Greek and Carian mercenaries, 30,000 strong, in an attempt

to recover power. The Egyptians rallied to 'Ahmose, and the mercenaries, heavily outnumbered, were defeated. Wahibre' was captured and executed.

'Ahmose (called by the Greeks 'Amasis'), who thus became sole king (566 BC), was a native of Sais, and is conventionally counted among the kings of the XXVI Dynasty, though he does not appear to have been related to the earlier Saite kings. He endeavoured to placate the Egyptian xenophobic feelings which had brought him to the throne by placing limitations on the movements of Greeks in Egypt, and rigorously restricting Greek traders to the single port of Naukratis. But he did not attempt to close Egypt to Greek traders. Their trade was too profitable. In fact, the archaeological evidence seems to indicate that under 'Ahmose the volume of trade with Greece increased. He did not even disband the hated Greek mercenaries. They also were too valuable. In fact, 'Ahmose was to end up as hated as Wahibre' had been for his dependence on the Greeks. The Greeks remembered him as a 'friend of the Greeks' (*philhellen*), and recalled his numerous gifts to Greek temples. The attitude of his Egyptian subjects may be judged from the fact that he found it necessary to move the Greek and Carian mercenaries from the Stratopeda to the capital at Memphis to protect himself against them. The internal unrest persisted. If, later, Egyptians were disposed to look back upon the reign of 'Ahmose as a time of unparalleled good fortune and prosperity, when 'the river was generous to the land, and the land to the people',¹ this was no doubt primarily by contrast with the period of subjection to foreign rule which followed his death.

In his foreign policy, 'Ahmose fared little better than his predecessors. While still co-king with Wahibre' (c. 568 BC), he appears to have sent a force of Greek mercenaries into Syria, but when this was defeated by the Babylonians he made no further attempts to interfere in this area. He also attempted to redeem the failure of Wahibre' at Cyrene, and we find him exploiting the internal dissensions of that city in an attempt to establish his control there. However, when his candidate for the Cyrenaean throne was murdered, he was induced to accept the succession of his rival, and he subsequently signified his reconciliation to Cyrene by marrying a Cyrenaean woman and dedicating gifts in Cyrenaean temples. The one solid achievement of 'Ahmose was to use the fleet created by Necho to reduce Cyprus and exact tribute from the island. The main factor in foreign affairs at this time was the rise of

¹ Herodotus, *Histories*, II, 177.1.

Persia under its king Cyrus II, who in 550 had overthrown and incorporated the empire of the Medes. The other powers, Egypt along with Babylon, Lydia and Sparta, the most powerful state in Greece, gravitated together in an alliance to resist the Persian advance. Their resistance was uncoordinated and ineffectual, and Cyrus was able to conquer Lydia in 545 and Babylon in 538. 'Ahmose, isolated, then attempted to strengthen his position by an alliance with the Greek island state of Samos, then, under its 'tyrant' Polykrates,¹ the leading naval power. It was probably his military dependence on the Greeks, both the mercenaries in Egypt and allies outside, in the face of the Persian threat, which motivated the 'philhellenism' of 'Ahmose in the later years of his reign. The son and successor of Cyrus, Cambyses II (529-522), was already preparing the invasion of Egypt when 'Ahmose died in 525. The son of 'Ahmose, a third Psamtek, succeeded to the Egyptian throne, but occupied it only for six months. He was able to put up little effective resistance when the Persian army moved in (525). Polykrates and the Cyprians deserted Psamtek, and supplied forces for Cambyses. One of the commanders of Psamtek's Greek mercenaries also defected to the Persians. Psamtek was quickly defeated and captured. He was at first spared, but, on being detected plotting rebellion, was executed.

PERSIAN RULE IN EGYPT, 525 TO 404 BC

Egypt secured, Cambyses seems to have conceived a grandiose scheme of conquests in Africa. On the fall of Egypt, the Libyans bordering Egypt on the west (the Adyrmachidai) and the Greek cities of Cyrenaica, Cyrene and Barce (Barca), sent gifts to Cambyses in token of submission. Cambyses wished to send his fleet to reduce Carthage, the principal Phoenician colony in North Africa, but the Phoenicians, who formed the main strength of his fleet, refused to attack their own colonists. He did, however, launch attacks by land against the Ammonii, the inhabitants of the Oasis of Siwa in the desert to the west of Egypt, and against Kush to the south. An expedition was sent against Siwa from Thebes, and reached the Oasis of Kharga, but was lost in the desert between Kharga and Siwa. The Ammonii thus escaped, though Kharga was subjected to Persian rule. The expedition against Kush, led by Cambyses himself, also encountered trouble when it ran out of pro-

¹ The Greek term *tyrannos* was applied to rulers who held absolute power unconstitutionally, and did not originally imply 'tyrannical' rule in the modern sense.

visions in the desert, having probably taken the route from Korosko to Abu Hamed in order to cut out the great westerly bend of the Nile, and was forced to turn back. Cambyses did not reach Napata or Meroe, but he did reduce the 'Ethiopians' of Lower Nubia above the First Cataract, thus securing for Persia control of the 'Allaqi gold-mines. After Cambyses's departure from Egypt, Aryandes, the first Persian *satrap* or governor of Egypt, used the internal dissensions of the Greek cities of Cyrenaica as an excuse to send a large Persian force westwards, which captured Barce and penetrated as far west as Euhesperides (Benghazi). A second expedition repeated the capture of Barce in c. 483. Later in the fifth century BC, Cyrene and Barce recovered their independence, but the Adyrmachidai seem to have remained subject to Persia.

The Persian kings attempted initially to conciliate Egyptian national feeling by representing themselves as a new dynasty of Pharaohs. Cambyses had himself formally invested with the titulary of a Pharaoh at a ceremony in the Temple of Neith at Sais, taking the Egyptian throne-name Mesutire'. His example was followed by his successor Darius (521-486), who took the name Stiture'. The Persian kings could not, however, reside permanently in Egypt, and the day-to-day administration of the country was in the hands of the *satrap*, who resided at Memphis, and who was always a Persian of royal or noble birth. With the resources of Egypt under his control, the *satrap* was in a strong position to defy the central authority of the Persian king, but this is only recorded to have occurred once, with the first *satrap*, Aryandes, who was executed by Darius.¹ Initially some Egyptians retained important posts under the *satrap*, but ultimately all but the lowest levels of the administration were staffed by Persians, and Aramaic replaced Egyptian as the language of the bureaucracy. The native priesthood, however, was maintained. A large garrison was established in the White Fort, the citadel of Memphis, and others at the Saite forts of Daphnae and Elephantine. These garrisons were always commanded by Persians, and were largely Persian in composition, though later, at any rate, the Elephantine garrison also included locally resident Jews and some Egyptians. The Greek and Carian mercenaries of the Saite period now disappeared. The *satrapy* or province of Egypt paid under Darius, according to Herodotus, a tribute of 700 *talents* of silver annually,²

¹ Aryandes's offence is said to have been the striking of silver coins (which might imply a claim to independence). But this story raises difficulties, since coinage was certainly not used in Egypt at this time.

² The *talent* was a unit of weight and currency, variously calculated, but here representing approximately 37 kg.

besides revenues traditionally due to the Pharaoh, such as the profits of the fisheries of the Fayum, and the burden of supplying corn for the garrison of the White Fort. Egypt also had to supply troops for the Persian army and ships for the Persian fleet. The Adyrmachidai and the Greek cities of Cyrenaica seem originally to have formed a separate province, called by the Persians 'Putaya', but later Darius incorporated them into the Egyptian *satrapy*. They were obliged to pay tribute and to provide troops, but do not appear to have suffered the imposition of a Persian administration. Probably the Persians were content to ensure that dependable men served as their kings. The 'Ethiopians' of Lower Nubia conquered by Cambyses also formed a separate province, called Kushiya. They were obliged to provide troops, and to pay a regular tribute of gold, ivory, ebony and slaves.

Though Egypt was subjected once more to foreign rule, the Persian conquest was far from being an unmixed evil. The burden of the tribute was probably not crippling, especially as the Persians were able to maintain the prosperity of Saite times. The trade with Greece, indeed, seems, from archaeological evidence, to have been interrupted for a few years after the conquest in 525 BC, but by c. 500 it had revived again. In another direction, the Persian occupation proved a stimulus to Egypt's foreign contacts, for the Persians resumed Necho's work in developing Egyptian interests in the Red Sea. Their main concern was probably to establish communications between the various provinces of their extensive empire, of which Egypt was one of the more remote, but their activities no doubt stimulated trade also. Under Darius, a Carian in the service of Persia, Skylax, undertook a voyage of exploration in which he sailed in thirty months from the river Indus along the coasts to Egypt, thus demonstrating for the first time the possibility of seaborne contacts between Egypt and India. Darius also completed or renovated Necho's canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, and used it to establish regular seaborne communications between Egypt and Persia. His son and successor, Xerxes (486-465), attempted to emulate Necho's alleged circumnavigation of Africa. A Persian nobleman, Sataspes, was ordered to sail around Africa from west to east. He picked up a ship in Egypt and set off down the Atlantic coast of Morocco, but lost heart and turned back, to be executed for his failure. In other respects also Egypt benefited from the efficient administration of the early Persian kings. Darius, for example, carried out a codification of the laws of Egypt, and was remembered in one tradition as one of the great lawgivers of Egypt.

Nevertheless, Persian rule was unpopular in Egypt. The justification for this which the Egyptians offered in retrospect was the lack of respect allegedly shown by the Persians towards the traditional institutions of Egypt. Herodotus reports allegations that Cambyses violated the mummified body of 'Aḥmose, and even that he killed the bull-god Apis.¹ These stories have been doubted, but it does appear that Cambyses made severe cuts in the revenues of the Egyptian temples. This policy seems hardly consistent with his having himself formally proclaimed as Pharaoh at Sais, and it seems likely that his measures against the temples were provoked by the political intrigues of the priests. Moreover, Darius took care to advertise his respect for the gods of Egypt. In 518, on a visit to Egypt, he granted money for the burial of the Apis bull, and later he undertook building works in the service of the gods, notably a temple for Amun-Re' in the Oasis of Kharga. It would appear probable, in fact, that Persian hostility to Egyptian institutions was rather a result than a cause of Egyptian resistance to Persian rule. The truth is probably that the articulate classes of Egyptian society, and especially the priests, had a developed national consciousness which precluded any whole-hearted acceptance of alien rule. The Egyptians certainly took every opportunity offered by Persian internal dissensions or military weakness to revolt.

The first such revolt occurred in 487 BC, the Egyptians being no doubt encouraged by the defeat of the Persians in an invasion of Greece at the battle of Marathon (490). Darius died (486) before he could deal with the revolt, but Xerxes suppressed it with great severity in 484. He appointed his brother Achaemenes as *satrap*, and, according to Herodotus, Egypt 'was reduced to a much worse state of slavery than under Darius'.² The Persian kings abandoned their attempt to conciliate Egyptian national feeling. Xerxes did not, like Cambyses and Darius, take the Egyptian royal titles, and there was little building in honour of the gods of Egypt. After Xerxes, indeed, no Persian king even visited Egypt.

The death of Xerxes and the ensuing civil war in Persia (465) were the signal for a second revolt. The leader of this revolt, whose name was rendered by the Greeks as 'Inaros', was king of the vassal Libyans west of Egypt, the Adyrmachidai, but his name is Egyptian (Ienheru) and, as his father's name is given as 'Psammetichos', possibly he was a

¹ The god Apis was supposedly incarnated in a succession of actual bulls, which were kept in the Temple of Apis at Memphis.

² Herodotus, *Histories*, VII.7.

descendant of the Saite kings. Inaros succeeded in raising most of Lower Egypt in revolt, but the *satrap* Achaemenes retained control of Memphis. In c. 460 a Greek fleet of the anti-Persian alliance led by Athens appeared at Cyprus, and Inaros persuaded its commanders to send him aid. The Greeks sailed up the Nile, joined forces with Inaros and defeated and killed Achaemenes. The remnants of the Persian army, together with some 'loyal' Egyptians, were then besieged in the White Fort at Memphis. The White Fort, however, survived a protracted blockade, and in 456 the Persians were able to send an army into Egypt, defeat the besiegers and relieve Memphis. Inaros and the Greeks were then besieged in turn on the island of Prosopitis, which was finally taken by storm in 454. The remnants of the Greek force escaped overland to Cyrene. Inaros surrendered on a promise of his life, but after being kept prisoner for five years was crucified. His son Thannyras, however, was allowed to succeed him as King of the Adyrmachidai. This was not quite the end of the revolt. A leader called by the Greeks 'Amyrtaios' (Amonortais) held out in the marshes of the Delta. In c. 451 an Athenian fleet again appeared at Cyprus, and forces were detached to aid Amyrtaios in Egypt. But after some fighting in Cyprus the Greeks withdrew, and soon after (c. 449) Athens appears to have made peace with Persia, abandoning her Egyptian allies to their fate. The end of Amyrtaios is not recorded, but the revolt evidently died out or was suppressed soon after. In 445/4 we find a 'Psammetichos, King of Libya', probably a successor of Thannyras, or perhaps Thannyras himself, tempting Athens with a large gift of corn, but Athens was no longer interested. That the Egyptian revolt could only be sustained as a serious threat to Persia as long as it enjoyed Greek support is a striking illustration of how one essential feature of the Saite period, military dependence on the Greeks, persisted into the fifth century – though now it was a question of allies rather than of mercenaries.

The suppression of the revolts opened a brief period of peace and relative prosperity. The chief interest of this period is the visit to Egypt of the Greek historian and geographer Herodotus, probably in the 440s BC. Herodotus recorded a fascinating, if not always wholly accurate, account of the Egyptian society which he observed. Trade with Greece, interrupted during the wars, had revived. The Greek traders were no longer restricted to Naukratis, and might be met in any Egyptian market. They were no more popular for that. Herodotus found the Egyptians, secure in the pride of their ancient culture, as xenophobic as ever. 'They refuse', he observes, 'to adopt Greek

GREEK RULE IN EGYPT

customs, or indeed the customs of anyone else at all.¹ Greeks in particular they regarded as unclean, because they did not observe the Egyptian prohibition on the meat of cows (sacred to the goddess Isis), so that

No Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Greek on the mouth, or use a knife or skewers or a cauldron belonging to a Greek, or taste meat cut up with a Greek knife.²

Not the least valuable section of Herodotus's account of Egypt is that recording the traditions about Egypt's past which he was able to collect, from both Egyptians and locally resident Greeks, upon which any account of the Saite and Persian periods must lean heavily. Interestingly, the memories of his Egyptian informants exhibited the same selectivity as had directed Egyptian tastes in art since Saite times. They had a great deal to say about the Memphite pyramid-builders of the Old Kingdom, and next to nothing about the Theban kings of the New Kingdom.

THE LAST NATIVE DYNASTIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GREEK RULE IN EGYPT, 404 TO 323 BC

Despite the apparent calm of Egypt during Herodotus's visit, the Egyptians were far from being reconciled to Persian rule. The decline of Persian power during the latter half of the fifth century BC held out the prospect of a more successful revolt, and, in 404, on the death of King Darius II, with Persia riven by civil wars, the Egyptians seized their opportunity and revolted a third time. Thereafter Egypt maintained a precarious independence for some sixty years. The gods of Egypt at least benefited thereby. They recovered the revenues of which they had been deprived under the Persians, and temple-building was resumed. But this period, the last – until modern times – in which Egypt was ruled by Egyptians, was not one of strength or internal cohesion. Egypt hardly counted any longer as a major power. In the west, control over the Adyrmachidai seems to have been maintained, but the Greeks of Cyrenaica, and in the south the kingdom of Meroe, were never threatened by Egyptian might, while attempts to reassert Egyptian power in Syria proved wholly abortive. Internally, the period was characterized by chronic political instability, and punctuated by rebellions and coups d'état. Eight kings (grouped conventionally in

¹ Ibid. II. 91.1.

² Ibid. II. 41.3.

three dynasties) ruled in sixty-one years. In effect, Egypt returned to the conditions which had existed before 663, when the petty chiefs of the Delta nomes had competed for power among themselves. And there was the same military dependence upon the Greeks as had characterized the Saite Dynasty and the revolts of the fifth century. We still hear of the indigenous warrior class, the *machimoi*, but the Egyptian kings increasingly relied upon the services of Greek mercenaries. Indeed, one important development of this period was that the Greeks, through their long involvement on the Egyptian side against Persia, at last began to be accepted by Egyptians with a measure of tolerance and even of friendship. The relative success of the revolt of 404 was due, not to Egyptian strength, but to Persian weakness. Distracted by wars with the Greeks, revolts in other provinces of their empire, and civil wars of their own, the Persians were unable to concentrate their resources on the reduction of Egypt.

The first king of the newly independent Egypt was a chief of Sais, a second Amyrtaios, who is conventionally counted as the sole king of the XXVIII Dynasty.¹ From his name, one might conjecture that he was a descendant of the rebel leader of the 450s. One Greek source appears to refer to him as 'Psammetichos, a descendant of the famous Psammetichos', which, taken with his origin from Sais, suggests that he was also descended from the earlier Saite Pharaohs. When Amyrtaios died in 399 BC, power was seized by the chief of Mendes, Nef'aurud (called by the Greeks 'Nepherites'), who thus became the founder of the XXIX Dynasty. On his death in 393, his son was pushed aside and the throne usurped by a certain Pshenmut, who reigned for only one year before being deposed in his turn by Hakor. Hakor sent aid to the Greeks of Cyprus, who were also in revolt against Persia, and in 385-383 beat off a Persian attack on Egypt. He was deposed in 380, and succeeded by a second Nef'aurud, who was murdered after a reign of only four months. Power was then seized by the chief of Sebennytyos, Nekhtnebef (called by the Greeks 'Nektanebes'), who founded the last native dynasty of Egypt (the XXXth). Under this dynasty, as its numerous monuments attest, Egypt enjoyed considerable prosperity, but there were still troubles enough. Nekhtnebef survived a second Persian attempt to recover control of Egypt in 373 BC. His son and successor, Djehō, who succeeded in 362, planned to exploit the weakness of Persia, then apparently on the verge of disintegration, by invading Syria. For this purpose, he built up a large army of Greek mercenaries,

¹ The Persian kings from Cambyzes to Darius II are counted as the XXVII Dynasty.

and called in Agesilaos, King of Sparta, an old enemy of Persia, to command it. To pay for this army, Djehō had recourse to a policy of systematic extortions from the temples of Egypt.¹ These exactions aroused widespread unrest in Egypt, and eventually rebellion. When Djehō invaded Syria, accompanied by Agesilaos and his own nephew Nekhtḥareḥbe, who commanded the Egyptian troops, Egypt was left in the charge of his brother, the father of Nekhtḥareḥbe, whose name is not recorded. This man led a revolt, and proclaimed his son Nekhtḥareḥbe as Pharaoh in place of Djehō. Agesilaos also declared for Nekhtḥareḥbe, and Djehō was compelled to flee for refuge into Persia. Nekhtḥareḥbe (called by the Greeks, somewhat confusingly, 'Nektanebos') thus became the last king of the dynasty (360). He was at once faced by a revolt in Egypt, led by a chief of Mendes. The new king was evidently too compromised in the policies of his uncle for his elevation to assuage the popular resentment at the latter's exactions. The Syrian project was abandoned, and Agesilaos and the Greek mercenaries were employed instead in suppressing the revolt inside Egypt. Meanwhile, Persia had recovered somewhat her strength under King Artaxerxes III, who had succeeded in 358. In 351 BC Artaxerxes led a third Persian attempt on Egypt, but the Egyptians, reinforced by Greek mercenaries, repulsed the Persians again. Then in 344 Nekhtḥareḥbe rashly took the offensive, supporting a revolt in Phoenicia. He sent a force of Greek mercenaries into Syria, where it deserted to Artaxerxes. Artaxerxes then augmented his army with more Greeks, and invaded Egypt. The Egyptian army, which also included Greek mercenaries, was defeated, and Egypt fell a second time to Persia (343). Nekhtḥareḥbe escaped into Kush. Resistance to the Persians continued. On the death of Artaxerxes (338), a certain Khabbash appears to have set himself up as Pharaoh, being acknowledged at both Memphis and Thebes, and ruled for two years. Having been presumably expelled from Egypt by the Persians, he appears (from an inscription of the Meroitic King Nastasen) to have turned south to invade Kush, only to be defeated there also (cf. chapter 4, p. 225).

Persian rule in Egypt was not to survive long, but its overthrow was not the work of the Egyptians. In 336 BC a Greek army, led by Alexander III (Alexander the Great), King of Macedonia, invaded the Persian empire. The Persian *satrap* of Egypt, summoned to fight against the

¹ Some silver coins bearing the name of Djehō in Greek and Demotic were probably struck to pay the Greek mercenaries recruited at this time. They are of interest as the earliest coins known to have been struck in Egypt (but cf. above, p. 99, n. 1).

invader, fell in battle in Syria. Control of Egypt was then briefly usurped by a commander of the Greek mercenaries on the Persian side, Amyntas, who represented himself as the newly appointed *satrap*, but he alienated the Egyptians by plundering the country and was killed in a local uprising. In 332 BC Alexander himself arrived in Egypt from Syria, and the Persian authorities surrendered to him without a fight. The Egyptians looked upon Alexander as a liberator, and he was enthusiastically welcomed at Memphis, where, to point the contrast with the Persian Cambyses, he sacrificed ostentatiously to the bull-god Apis. He also visited the Temple of Amun-Re¹ in the Oasis of Siwa west of Egypt, where the priests formally greeted him as Pharaoh and son of Amun-Re¹. Early in 331 he left Egypt, and spent the rest of his life campaigning in the east. By his death in 323, he had completely conquered the old Persian empire.

During his brief visit to Egypt, Alexander ordered the foundation of a new Greek city at the western tip of the Delta, which still bears his name – Alexandria. In his arrangements for the administration of the country he made some attempt to conciliate Egyptian national feeling. Two Egyptians, Peteesis and Doloaspis,¹ were appointed as governors of Upper and Lower Egypt: before long, Peteesis relinquished his post, and Doloaspis became viceroy of all Egypt. But effective power lay rather with the army commanders, who were Macedonians, and more particularly with Kleomenes, a Greek from Naukratis, who was appointed to administer the finances of Egypt. The system was, in any case, short-lived. On Alexander's death in 323 BC, his generals divided up his empire among themselves, and the *satrapy* of Egypt was allotted to Ptolemaios (Ptolemy). Ptolemy quickly established his control within Egypt by executing Kleomenes, maintained his position against the rival generals, and finally (in 305 BC) assumed the title of king, establishing a dynasty which was to rule Egypt for almost three centuries.

It would be easy to see in this, the formal establishment of Greek rule in Egypt, the logical culmination of three centuries of Greek influence and patronage. But, except in so far as the earlier involvement of Greeks in Egyptian affairs prepared the Egyptians psychologically to accept Greek rule, such a view would be misleading. Alexander's conquest of Egypt was a by-product of his conquest of the Persian empire, and in no way grew out of the earlier, maritime, contacts of the

¹ The sources assert that both men were Egyptians, but the name of Doloaspis is not Egyptian, and perhaps he was an Asian.

THE GREEK COLONIZATION OF CYRENAICA

Greeks with Egypt. Alexander, indeed, as a great territorial ruler who entered Egypt from Syria, was rather in the tradition of the Assyrians and the Persians. The establishment of the dynasty of the Ptolemies thus represents in a sense a real break in the continuity of Egyptian history. It can certainly be taken as a convenient point at which to end our consideration of Egypt.

THE GREEK COLONIZATION OF CYRENAICA; THE BATTIADAI (c. 639 TO c. 439 BC) AND THE REPUBLIC (c. 439 TO 322 BC)

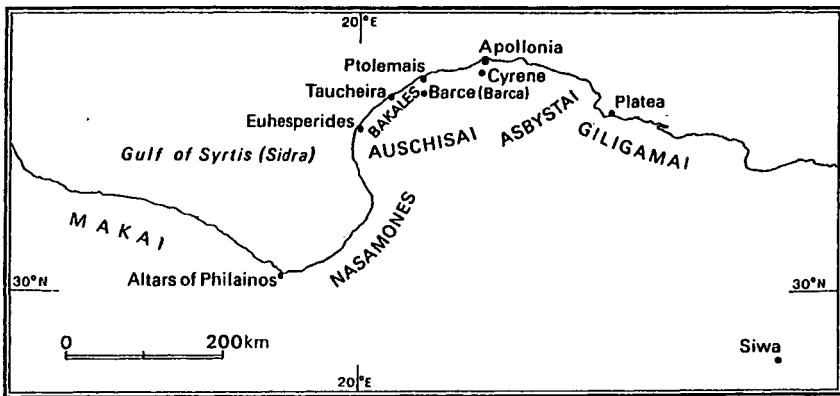
While, as has been seen, one important theme in Egyptian history from the seventh century BC onwards was the establishment of Greek influence over the country, a parallel process was taking place further west, with the colonization of the North African coast by the Greeks and Phoenicians. In Egypt the Greeks had to come to terms with an organized and strong indigenous society, and were consequently obliged to serve or exploit, and ultimately to take over, the indigenous state structure. But the Libyans, less populous, less organized and less advanced, were more easily pushed aside by the colonists, who established their own state systems. While, therefore, the history of Egypt during the 'period of colonization' was still the history of the Egyptian state, that of the rest of North Africa has to be treated as the history of the new states established by the Greek and Phoenician immigrants.

The Greek colonists occupied the area subsequently known, from the name of their principal city Cyrene, as Cyrenaica. This was in a sense a natural extension of the Greek occupation of the Aegean islands and of Crete. Geographically, Cyrenaica belonged as much to the Greek Aegean world as to North Africa. The plateau of the Jebel Akhdar secures sufficient rainfall to make Cyrenaica cultivable, but on all sides – in the east, towards Egypt, and in the west, as well as to the south – it is surrounded by arid desert. Cyrenaica was thus more easily approachable by sea than by land; and it is, in fact, nearer to Crete than to Egypt.

The first move was in c. 639 BC, when the island state of Thera, after suffering a prolonged drought, sent out a small number of colonists (they sailed in only two ships) to establish a settlement in North Africa. They were guided by a Cretan purple-fisher who had some acquaintance with the coast, and settled first on the off-shore island of Platea (Bomba?). After only two years there, they moved to Aziris (unidentified) on the mainland opposite. After six years at Aziris, they were

persuaded by the local Libyan tribe, the Giligamai, to move to a better site further west. This was not mere helpfulness on the part of the Giligamai. They took care to conceal from the Greeks the best site in the area, their own ceremonial centre at Irasa (Erasem?), and in fact led them to a site within the territory of a neighbouring tribe, the Asbystai. At any rate here – in 631 BC, according to the most probable account – the Theraeans founded a city which they called 'Cyrene'.¹

The other successful Greek colonies in North Africa seem all to have been offshoots of Cyrene. Three settlements appear, on archaeological evidence, to have been established soon after Cyrene itself: Apollonia (Marsa Susa), which served as the port of Cyrene, and two settlements on the coast further west, one at a site whose original name is not recorded, which was later known as Ptolemais (Tolmeta), and one at Taucheira (Tocra). The city of Barce (El Merj), in the hinterland of Ptolemais, is said to have been founded by dissidents from Cyrene around the middle of the sixth century BC. Ptolemais and Taucheira



19 Cyrenaica.

became dependencies of Barce, the former serving as its port. A third independent city was founded further along the coast at Euhesperides (Benghazi), on archaeological evidence probably in the early sixth century. In later times, Cyrenaica was sometimes referred to as the 'Pentapolis', the 'Five Cities', the five being Cyrene, Apollonia, Ptolemais (which ultimately overshadowed Barce), Taucheira and Euhesperides. The Greeks thus colonized the western portion of the cultivable littoral of Cyrenaica. There were aspirations to colonize

¹ Actually, in the Doric dialect of Greek which the colonists spoke, *Kyrena*: in the more familiar Attic dialect, *Kyrene*, which was Latinized as *Cyrene*.

further west, but these were frustrated by the opposition of the Phoenicians, who were already established in the area. About 515 BC Dorieus, from Sparta, founded a city on the river Kinyps (Wadi Tareglat?) in Tripolitania, just east of the Phoenician settlement of Lepcis. He employed guides from Thera, and appears to have put in at Cyrene to pick up followers, but there is no indication that the Cyrenaean government officially supported the expedition. However, after only two years Dorieus was expelled by an alliance of the local Libyan tribe, the Makai, and the Phoenicians of Carthage. Greek ambitions in this area are also reflected in unfulfilled oracles quoted by Herodotus, predicting the establishment of a Spartan colony on the island of Phla (Djerba?) and the foundation of Greek cities on the shores of 'Lake Tritonis' (the Gulf of Gabes?). But the Carthaginians were able to secure Phoenician control over these areas and, at a date which is uncertain, some time during the fifth or early fourth centuries BC, after fighting between the Carthaginians and the Greeks of Barce, the boundary between the Phoenician and Greek spheres was set away to the east at the Gulf of Syrtis (Sidra), and formally marked by two tumuli known in antiquity as the 'Altars of Philainos'.

The pattern of these enterprises illustrates the fact that in this part of Africa Greek interests were primarily agricultural, and not commercial. Unlike the founders of Naukratis in Egypt, the Greek colonists in Cyrenaica and further west were interested not in trade with the natives, but in acquiring good agricultural land for settlement colonies. Theraean tradition connects the foundation of Cyrene with a prolonged drought, and it is likely that the main purpose of the enterprise was to unload the surplus population of the island. The non-commercial character of the Greek colonization is also indicated by the location of the two principal cities, Cyrene and Barce, some way inland, and not on the coast. The land of Cyrenaica was celebrated in antiquity for its fertility. Herodotus, who probably visited Cyrene, describes with wonder its three annual harvests, crops ripening successively on the three terraces of the plateau, and also speaks enthusiastically of the fertility of the Euhesperides area. Both cereals and tree crops were grown, and the Greeks also raised herds of cattle, sheep and horses. The Kinyps area, the scene of Dorieus's venture, was likewise an island of relative fertility in the desert of the Tripolitanian littoral, enjoying a higher rainfall because of the relief of the Jebel Nefusa. Herodotus, who had not been there, describes it with some exaggeration as the best agricultural land in Africa.

Nevertheless, the Greek cities of Cyrenaica soon developed a considerable external trade. Archaeological evidence from Cyrene shows that from very early times the city maintained commercial contacts both with Greece and with Naukratis in Egypt. In the first place, the fertility of Cyrenaica was such that it yielded agricultural produce far in excess of the requirements of the Greek colonists, who were therefore able to supply quantities of corn to the Greek world. Wool and ox-hides were also exported. In the second place, trade with the Libyans of the interior developed to an unpremeditated importance. This was due to the discovery of the mysterious plant called in antiquity *silphion*, whose root served a variety of culinary and medicinal purposes. The plant grew only in Cyrenaica, and there it disappeared during Roman times, so that it cannot be botanically identified. It grew in the desert margins to the south of Greek territory, and the roots were collected by the Libyans, who brought them to the Greek cities. The kings of Cyrene endeavoured to exercise a monopoly of the trade in *silphion*, but a certain amount was smuggled out to the Carthaginians further west along the coast, and Carthage was also to some extent a supplier of *silphion* to the Mediterranean world. The profits derived by the Greeks from the trade in *silphion* were considerable, in token whereof the *silphion* plant became a favourite device on the coins of Cyrene, Barce and Euhesperides.

Thera, backward among Greek states, was still ruled by a king in the seventh century BC, and her political institutions were replicated in her colony at Cyrene. The founder and first King of Cyrene was Aristoteles, who after arriving in Africa assumed the title or surname 'Battos', which Herodotus explains as the Libyan word for 'king', and which his descendants adopted as a personal name. Aristoteles Battos is said to have reigned for forty years, reckoning probably from the first settlement on the island of Platea c. 639, so that he would have died c. 599. He was succeeded by his son Arkesilas, who reigned for sixteen years, presumably from c. 599 to c. 583. The house of Battos, the Battiadai, ruled Cyrene for eight generations, the kings being called alternately Battos and Arkesilas.

For half a century after its foundation, Cyrene remained a small settlement, but a great expansion took place under the third king, Battos II, surnamed 'Eudaimon' ('The Prosperous'), who succeeded probably c. 583. Battos invited new settlers from Greece, promising them allotments of land. There was a flood of immigrants from Crete

and the Aegean islands, and from the Peloponnese on the Greek mainland. This development raised two problems. First, there was the difficulty of integrating the newcomers with the descendants of the original Theraean settlers. Second, land had to be taken from the local Libyans, the Asbystai, to provide for the new settlers. The Libyans, under their King Adikran, resisted and, as has been seen above, appealed for aid to the Egyptian King Wahibre', who sent an army west to fight the Greeks. The Cyrenaeans marched eastwards to meet the Egyptians as they emerged from their long desert march, and completely defeated them at Irasa (c. 570). Cyrenaean rule was extended over a considerable area of the interior, and the security of the Greek estates protected by the construction of fortified farmhouses, called in Greek *pyrgoi* ('towers'), around which small villages developed.

Battos II was succeeded by his son Arkesilas II, whose reign was beset by troubles, the Libyan problem inherited from his father, and now also internal divisions at Cyrene. Tradition alleges a deterioration in the character of the ruling family, the first Battos being a good and paternal ruler, but his successors avaricious and tyrannical. This certainly seems true of Arkesilas II, whose cruelty earned him the surname 'Chalepos' ('the Harsh'). He quarrelled with his brothers, four of whom left Cyrene and founded their own city away to the west at Barce. Moreover, the dissidents at Barce incited the discontented Libyans to revolt again against Cyrene. Arkesilas marched against the rebel Libyans, but they withdrew eastwards, drawing the Cyrenaeans into the desert, and defeated them with great slaughter at Leukon (unidentified). Arkesilas was then murdered by another brother, Laarchos. Laarchos seized power in Cyrene, nominally as regent for Arkesilas's young son Battos, and obtained a force of Egyptian soldiers from King 'Aḥmose to support himself in power. He proposed to consolidate his position by marrying Arkesilas's widow Eryxo and adopting the young Battos as his own son, but he was himself murdered by Eryxo and her brother Polyarchos. 'Aḥmose planned action against Cyrene, but he was pacified by a visit of Eryxo and Polyarchos to Egypt, and induced to acquiesce in the succession of Battos. Subsequently 'Aḥmose, as has been noted, maintained friendly relations with Cyrene, even taking to wife a Cyrenaean woman, probably a member of the royal family.

Under Battos III, constitutional reforms were effected at Cyrene in an attempt to prevent a repetition of these troubles. The royal house had forfeited its popularity by its excesses, and the king was now reduced to

purely religious functions. No details of the new arrangements are recorded, but it can be presumed that, in accordance with the usual Greek pattern, effective power now passed to a council and elected magistrates drawn from the richer citizens. At the same time, the descendants of the non-Theraean settlers who had come to Cyrene under Battos II were brought into the citizen body on the same terms as the Theraeans. But this settlement was not to endure. Battos's son, Arkesilas III, supported by his formidable mother Pheretime, repudiated the reforms and claimed the ancient royal powers. Driven out of Cyrene, Arkesilas gathered an army of adventurers from Greece by promising grants of land. With this force he recovered power in Cyrene, and carried out a purge of his political opponents. He also gained control of, or an alliance with, Barce, for we find that city subsequently ruled by a certain Alazeir, who was the father-in-law of Arkesilas. Arkesilas was on the throne when in 525 BC Cambyses conquered Egypt, and he and Alazeir sent gifts to the Persian king to signify their submission. The Greek cities of Cyrenaica thus became tributary to Persia. Subsequently, alarmed by an oracle which appeared to forebode divine retribution for a massacre of his enemies, Arkesilas retired to the protection of Alazeir at Barce, leaving Cyrene under his mother Pheretime. But at Barce both Arkesilas and Alazeir were assassinated (c. 515?). Pheretime then appealed for aid to Aryandes, the Persian *satrap* of Egypt, who took the opportunity to strengthen Persian influence in Cyrenaica and provided her with an army. The Persians besieged and captured Barce. Pheretime crucified those implicated in her son's murder, and a large part of the population of Barce was carried off into slavery by the Persians. On this expedition, Persian forces penetrated as far west as Euhesperides. There was more trouble with Barce c. 483, when she refused to supply forces for the Persian invasion of Greece, and the city was a second time besieged and captured. The Greeks of Cyrenaica probably recovered their independence soon after the defeat of the Persians in Greece in 479. At any rate, Cyrene was presumably free again by 454, when it served as a refuge for the remnants of the Greek force defeated by the Persians in Egypt.

Pheretime died soon after the first Persian capture of Barce. The kingdom passed to a fourth Battos, surnamed 'Kalos' ('The Handsome'), of whom little is known, and then to a fourth Arkesilas, the last of the Battiad Dynasty. Arkesilas IV is chiefly renowned for having, in 462 BC, commissioned the poet Pindar to write two odes (*Pythian Odes*, iv and v), which are extant, in celebration of his victory in the chariot-

race of the Pythian Games in Greece. Arkesilas had to suppress a popular rising in Cyrene, and killed or exiled many of his opponents. He also recruited mercenaries in Greece, and sent them as colonists to Euhesperides, apparently preparing a refuge for himself in case of trouble at Cyrene. In the event, however, he was assassinated at Cyrene. His son, yet another Battos, apparently escaped to Euhesperides, only to be murdered there. One source asserts that the Battiadai ruled Cyrene in all for 200 years. While this is clearly only an approximation, a date of c. 439 for the death of Arkesilas IV is consistent with what little other evidence we possess, and it can be accepted as approximately correct.

Much less is known of the history of Cyrenaica after the fall of the Battiad monarchy. Our relatively full knowledge of the early history of Cyrene is due principally to the chance fact that Herodotus visited the city and recorded its traditions. There is no comparable source for the later period. Cyrene was not an important Mediterranean power, and its affairs therefore attracted little attention from historians of the Greek world. It is known that after the assassination of Arkesilas IV, constitutional reforms of a democratic character were effected at Cyrene, but few details are recorded. The reforms did not, however, establish a stable political regime in Cyrene, which continued to suffer periodically from bitter internal dissensions. In 401 BC a popular leader named Ariston seized control of the city, and executed or expelled many of the more prominent citizens. The exiles procured an army of adventurers from Greece and attacked Cyrene but, after considerable bloodshed, a peaceful settlement was arranged and the exiles were readmitted to the city. There is also evidence of continued clashes between the Greeks and the local Libyans. In 413 Euhesperides was besieged by Libyans, but was relieved through the chance arrival of a Greek fleet blown off course on the way to Sicily. An inscription from Cyrene, of the fourth or third century BC, refers to a successful campaign against the Nasamones and Makai, Libyan tribes inhabiting the coast to the west of Euhesperides. Egypt during this period was hardly strong enough to interfere in Cyrenaica, but it is recorded that the Egyptian King Hakor (392-380) made a treaty with Barce. No details are given, however, of the content or context of this treaty.

The relative isolation of Cyrenaica was ended when the Greek army under Alexander occupied Egypt in 332 BC. Cyrene sent envoys to offer alliance, which Alexander accepted. Cyrene did not become subject to

Alexander. Alexander claimed to be leading a Greek national crusade against Persia, and could hardly claim to rule over Greeks. Ptolemy, who became *satrap* of Egypt on Alexander's death in 323, had less concern for such scruples. He found an excuse for intervention, as had 'Ahmose and Aryandes before him, in the internal dissensions of Cyrene. About 325 a large force of Greek mercenaries, commanded by a Spartan adventurer called Thibron, arrived in Cyrenaica with the encouragement of some Cyrenaean exiles, seized Apollonia, the port of Cyrene, and began extorting money and armaments from the Greek cities, on the pretext of mounting a campaign against the local Libyans. The Cyrenaeans at first submitted, but later, encouraged by the defection to them of one of Thibron's subordinates, resisted. Thibron secured the alliance of Barce and Euhesperides and laid siege to Cyrene, while the Cyrenaeans summoned assistance from the local Libyans and from Carthage. Protracted fighting followed, and the situation was further complicated when a civil war broke out in Cyrene, which ended in a victory for the democratic party and the expulsion of the richer citizens. Some of these exiles appealed for aid to Ptolemy in Egypt, and Ptolemy sent his general Ophellas with a large army into Cyrenaica (322 BC). The democrats of Cyrene now made common cause with Thibron against Ophellas, but Ophellas defeated them, captured and executed Thibron, and gained possession of Cyrene and the other cities. Ptolemy thus secured control over Cyrenaica. The Greek cities were left nominally autonomous, but their freedom was a pretence. The loyalty of Cyrene to Ptolemy was guaranteed by the imposition of a large garrison, and the general Ophellas remained in the city as the effective ruler.

GREEKS AND LIBYANS

It has been seen above how the extension of Greek settlement in Cyrenaica provoked wars with the local Libyans, and how clashes with the Libyans recurred throughout the period. But Greeks and Libyans did not always meet as enemies. Libyans are on occasions found in alliance with the Greeks, as with Cyrene against Thibron in the 320s. It is also probable that the contingents of war-chariots which served with the armies of Cyrene and Barce in the fifth and fourth centuries were provided by Libyan allies. There was also a considerable absorption of Libyan elements into the population of the Greek states. It is not clear whether the Libyans were expelled from the lands taken by

the Greek settlers or retained as subjects. It can, however, be assumed that the slaves employed by the Greeks on the land and in the cities would have been predominantly Libyans. What is more remarkable is the assimilation of Libyans into the free population. It is possible that the Greek colonists brought few women of their own. At any rate, it apparently became quite normal for Greek men to take Libyan wives. A poem written by Pindar for a citizen of Cyrene in the time of Arkesilas IV (*Pythian Ode*, ix) relates how one of the early settlers at Cyrene (an ancestor of Pindar's client) competed successfully in an athletic competition at Irasa, in the territory of the Libyan tribe of the Giligamai, to win the hand of a Libyan woman. That such marriages were common is proved by the constitutional regulations imposed on Cyrene by Ptolemy after 322 BC, which are preserved in an inscription, and which include the provision that the children of Cyrenaean men by Libyan wives should have citizen status.

This Libyan element in the population of the Greek cities evidently had some impact on their culture. A few Greeks adopted Libyan names. It has already been noted that the royal name Battos was, according to Herodotus, of Libyan origin. Alazeir, the name of the ruler of Barce in the time of Arkesilas III, is also Libyan. Libyan influence on the Greeks was most evident in the sphere of religion. Herodotus observes that the women of Cyrene celebrated the festivals of the Egyptian goddess Isis, and observed the prohibition on the meat of cows (which were sacred to Isis), while the women of Barce also observed the Egyptian prohibition on the eating of pork, and states that these Egyptian customs came to the Greeks through the Libyans. It is significant that Herodotus speaks here of the *women* only, confirming the suggestion that the Libyan element was strongest among the women of the cities. It is also interesting that Libyan influence was apparently stronger at Barce than at Cyrene. Another cult which the Greeks adopted from the Libyans was that of a god whom the Greeks called 'Ammon', a version of the Egyptian god Amun-Re', in origin a fusion of the sun-god Re' with the ram-god Amun, who was often represented as a ram-headed man. The principal centre of the cult of Ammon was his temple in the Oasis of Siwa, famous for its oracle, and the cult was widespread among the Libyan tribes further west. The oracle at Siwa was frequently consulted by Greeks from Cyrenaica and even from further afield, as by Alexander in 332 BC. The Greeks identified Ammon with their own principal god Zeus, and worshipped him in their own cities as 'Zeus Ammon', who was usually represented as a man with a ram's horns. Representations of

Zeus Ammon were a favourite device on the coins of Cyrene, Barce and Euhesperides. From the Greek cities of Cyrenaica the cult of Zeus Ammon spread to the rest of the Greek world. This was, however, only a very superficial form of assimilation. The Greeks worshipped Zeus Ammon as a Greek god, borrowing only the name Ammon and the device of the ram's horns, without adopting any Libyan or Egyptian forms of ritual. Among other borrowings, the Cyrenaean passion for chariot-racing was certainly influenced by the local Libyans, among whom the horse-drawn war-chariot was still in normal use, whereas it had long ago been abandoned in Greece. Herodotus, indeed, claims that the Greeks learned from the Libyans the technique of using teams of four horses for chariots.

That the Greek colonists in turn influenced the culture of the Libyans is highly probable, but difficult to establish in detail. Herodotus states of the Asbystai, in the hinterland of Cyrene, that 'for the most part they copy the customs of the Cyrenaeans', and observes that the same was true of the Auschisai and the Bakales, neighbours of Barce and Euhesperides.¹ But he does not go into any details. Greek influence possibly explains the practice of extended burial which Herodotus notes among the Libyans, since the Nasamones to the west of Cyrenaica buried their dead in a sitting posture. Beyond this, it can only be hoped that clearer evidence of Greek influence on the Libyans will be obtained when archaeology succeeds in recovering the material remains of the Libyan tribes.

PHOENICIAN COLONIZATION IN NORTH AFRICA; CARTHAGE AND ITS EMPIRE

The Phoenicians colonized a much greater area of North Africa than the Greeks, and their influence on Africa was probably more profound as well as being more widespread. But in many respects Phoenician activities in Africa are less well documented than those of the Greeks. Though they were literate, few of their records have survived, and we are usually dependent for their history upon the writings of Greek and Roman historians. This is especially unfortunate for a historian of Africa, since the Greek and Roman historians were naturally mainly concerned with the dealings of the Phoenicians with their own peoples – that is, with their operations in the Mediterranean rather than with their activities in Africa.

¹ Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 170-1.

The Phoenicians were established on the coast of North Africa considerably earlier than the Greeks. They colonized along the coast to the west of the Greek sphere in Cyrenaica. The principal colonizer among the Phoenician cities was Tyre. Unlike the Greeks in Cyrenaica, the Phoenicians were not, at least initially, interested in the establishment of substantial settlement colonies. Their only interest was in trade. Their colonies, being essentially trading-posts or victualling stations for their ships, tended to be sited on off-shore islands and peninsulas which provided easy access from the sea, but were readily defensible against interference from the land. Indeed, the Phoenicians at first were not really interested in Africa at all. The interest which drew them into the western Mediterranean was trade with southern Spain, with the Spanish kingdom called by the Greeks 'Tartessos', which is probably to be identified with the 'Tarshish' of the Old Testament. The chief commodities traded by the Tartessians were metals – silver, from the mines of southern Spain, and tin, which they imported by sea from Brittany and Britain. The first Phoenician colonies in the west were sited with a view to this trade with Tartessos. The earliest was Gades (Cadiz), on what was then an island off the Atlantic coast of Spain close to Tartessos. The colonies founded along the North African coast, the first of which, Utica in Northern Tunisia, is said to have been founded soon after Gades, were intended to safeguard and provide stopping-places along the coasting route from Phoenicia to Gades and Tartessos. Besides Spain and North Africa, the Phoenicians also planted colonies on Sardinia, in western Sicily – Motya (Mozia), Panormus (Palermo), and Soloeis (Soli) – and on Malta.

There is some doubt as to when Phoenician colonization in the western Mediterranean began. Ancient writers claim that Gades was founded *c.* 1110 BC and Utica *c.* 1100, and some modern scholars have accepted these dates as substantially accurate. However, the evidence of archaeology casts some doubt on these early dates. Little excavation has been possible at Gades, but extensive excavations have been undertaken at Utica, and have yielded nothing earlier than the eighth century BC. It is always dangerous to argue from this sort of negative evidence in archaeology, but in this case the lack of material earlier than the eighth century is remarkably consistent throughout the excavated Phoenician sites in the west. Altogether, it is difficult to claim with any confidence that Phoenician trade and colonization in Spain and North Africa go back appreciably before *c.* 800 BC.

Besides Utica, the North African cities which are said to have been

founded from Tyre are Lepcis in Tripolitania, Hadrumetum (Sousse) on the eastern coast of Tunisia, Carthage to the south and Hippo (Bizerta) to the west of Utica in northern Tunisia, and Lixus on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Another Tyrian colony in North Africa referred to by ancient historians, Auza, evidently did not survive, and cannot be located. Little in the way of dates can be established for these foundations. The date usually quoted for the foundation of Carthage, 813 BC, is in fact only one, though the most popular, of several calculations made by ancient Greek chronologists.¹ Excavations at Carthage have yielded nothing earlier than c. 750 BC, and it is possible that the conventional date is too early. Lixus actually claimed to have been founded before Gades, but excavation at the site has not carried the occupation further back than the seventh century. Archaeological evidence also indicates a foundation from Phoenicia before the end of the seventh century for Siga (Rachgoun) on the Algerian coast and for a colony, not mentioned by ancient authors, on the island of Mogador off the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The Mogador settlement, however, seems to have been abandoned at the end of the sixth century.

By far the most important of the Tyrian colonies in North Africa was Carthage, or, to give it its Phoenician name (of which 'Carthago' is a Latin transcription), 'Qart Hadasht' ('New City'), which was planted in the bay to the west of the Cape Bon peninsula, to the south of Utica. Carthage ultimately came to exercise a hegemony over all the western Phoenicians. In fact, it had from the start a somewhat different character from the other colonies. Its foundation was not motivated solely by trade, for it is said to have been established by a group of political dissidents from Tyre. According to the legend of its foundation recorded by Greek writers, the founder of Carthage was Elissa (also called Dido), the sister of Pygmalion, King of Tyre. Elissa fled from Tyre, accompanied by many of the Tyrian nobles, after Pygmalion had murdered her husband. She went first to Cyprus, where she picked up more followers, and then to North Africa. There she purchased land from the local Libyans, on which the citadel of Carthage, the *Byrsa*, was built. As the colony expanded in size, the other sections of the city were built on further land leased from the Libyans in return for the payment of an annual tribute. Elissa is said ultimately to have committed suicide,

¹ Other dates range from 1234 BC (Appian, *Punic wars*, 1) to 751 BC (Apion, quoted by Josephus, *Against Apion*, II. 17).

to avoid marrying a local Libyan chief. If there is any truth in this story, the foundation of Carthage was the result of a considerable migration from among the ruling class of Tyre. But despite the circumstances of its foundation, Carthage always retained sentimental and religious ties with Tyre. For many years the Carthaginians sent a tithe of their revenues annually for dedication in the temple of the god Melqart at Tyre. Later the scale of these offerings was reduced, but they continued to be sent into the second century BC, and probably down to the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC.

It is likely that Elissa founded a line of kings at Carthage, but it is problematical whether this monarchy still survived at the time when history first records anything of the city's affairs, in the sixth century BC. We then hear of a general called apparently (in a corrupt text) 'Malchus', who, after suffering a military defeat, was condemned to exile by the Carthaginian Senate. 'Malchus' then used his army to besiege and capture Carthage, and executed some of the senators. Later, however, he was himself brought to trial and executed. It has been suggested that 'Malchus' is in reality not a personal name, but a transcription of the Phoenician title *melek* ('king'). If this is so (and it is extremely speculative), perhaps the Carthaginian monarchy ended with the death of 'Malchus'. Greek writers, it is true, frequently apply the title of 'king' (*basileus*) to Carthaginian leaders during the fifth and fourth centuries, and some modern scholars believe that this also translated the Phoenician term *melek*, and that some form of kingship persisted at Carthage until some time in the fourth century. But it seems more probable that the Greeks used the term *basileus* imprecisely to refer to the chief civil magistrates of Carthage, who had the Phoenician title of *sufet* ('judge'). By the third century BC, but perhaps not originally, there were two *sufets*, who were elected annually. Real power in the Carthaginian Republic lay with the Senate or Council, recruited probably from ex-magistrates. An Assembly of adult male citizens also existed, but had little effective power. Command of the army was not a regularly filled post, generals being chosen ad hoc, perhaps originally elected by the Assembly. In the early years of the Republic, the generals were often the rivals of the Senate for power.

It is sometimes suggested that Carthage was founded from the first to replace Tyre as the political capital of the western Phoenicians, this being the significance of its name, 'New City'. But there is no evidence that Carthage exercised any form of hegemony over the western Phoenicians before the sixth century BC. The leadership of Carthage

arose as a reaction to the Greek threat to the Phoenician position in the western Mediterranean. The Greeks, having colonized southern Italy and eastern Sicily, began to intrude into the Phoenician sphere in Spain. About 638 BC a Greek trader accidentally found his way to Tartessos, and broke the Phoenician monopoly of trade there. Trade with Tartessos was developed especially by the Greeks of Phokaia (in Asia Minor), who in c. 600 founded a colony at Massalia (Marseilles) to protect the coasting route to Spain along the southern coast of France, and were soon colonizing along the eastern coast of Spain itself. About the same time, the Greeks began to encroach upon the Phoenician sphere in western Sicily, while the colonization of Cyrenaica raised the threat of a Greek challenge to the Phoenician position in North Africa. The western Phoenicians could no longer look to Tyre for leadership or aid: the mother-city was at this time engaged in a struggle against the overlordship of Babylon, which culminated in a protracted Babylonian siege of Tyre in 586–573. For reasons which are lost to us, it was Carthage (rather than, say, Gades or Utica) among the Phoenician cities of the west which took the lead in resisting Greek expansion. The earliest attested Carthaginian venture overseas was the foundation of a colony on the island of Ebesos (Ibiza) off the coast of Spain. This is said to have taken place 160 years after the foundation of Carthage. This would be c. 653 BC if the conventional date for the latter event is accepted, but it seems more likely that the colony was founded rather later, in response to the Greek intrusion into the Phoenician sphere in Spain after c. 638. The Carthaginians are also said to have resisted the foundation of Massalia by the Phokaians in c. 600. A little later 'Malchus' conducted campaigns for Carthage in Sicily and Sardinia. After his execution, command of the army was given to a certain Mago, whom tradition represents as the true founder of the Carthaginian empire: he was

the first man who, by regulating military discipline, laid the foundations of the Punic empire, and strengthened the power of the state no less by his skill in warfare than by his courage.¹

Mago and his descendants, by monopolizing military appointments, established themselves as the effective rulers of Carthage during the next hundred years. Fighting in Sardinia continued under Mago and his son Hasdrubal (who was killed there) and Hasdrubal's brother or nephew Hamilcar, and the coastal plains of the island were conquered

¹ Justin, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompeii Trogi*, xix. 1. 1.

and colonized. In about 540 the Carthaginians, in alliance with the Etruscans of Italy, who were also threatened by Greek expansion, fought against the Phokaïans in a naval battle off Corsica, and forced them to abandon their settlement on the island. Carthage and the Etruscans remained in close alliance for many years afterwards. The Greek threat in the western Mediterranean was eliminated. Gades was brought under Carthaginian protection, while Tartessos disappears from history and was probably destroyed. About 515 the Carthaginians inflicted a further reverse on the Greeks when they expelled Dorieus from his colony in Tripolitania. As has been seen, the eastern boundary of the Phoenician sphere in North Africa was ultimately set at the Altars of Philainos on the Gulf of Syrtis.

This run of Carthaginian successes ended when in 480 BC Hamilcar led an attack on the Greeks of Sicily. Greek resistance was led by the largest of the Greek colonies in Sicily, Syracuse, and Hamilcar was defeated and killed at the battle of Himera. The terms imposed by the Syracusans after this victory were mild: Carthage paid a large indemnity, but lost no territory. Nevertheless, the reverse at Himera seems to have had a profound impact on the development of Carthage. Expansion in the Mediterranean was abandoned for seventy years. Even peaceful contacts with the Mediterranean world declined: after 480 the importation into Carthage of commodities from the Greek world, and even from friendly countries such as Etruria and the Persian empire in the east, practically ceased. Presumably this came about through the deliberate policy of the Carthaginian government, which may have sought to conserve its supplies of precious metals and prevent their drain to potential enemies. At the same time, Carthage took steps to develop the resources which she still monopolized in Africa and the far west. Under the sons of Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, who ruled Carthage in the generation after 480, Carthage defeated the local Libyans, ending the payment of tribute to them, and began the acquisition of an extensive territory in the interior. Other wars were fought against the Numidians and Mauri, the tribes inhabiting the coastal plains west of the Carthaginian territory, these wars being probably in connection with colonization along the coast. Two of Hamilcar's sons undertook voyages of exploration in the Atlantic, presumably in an attempt to tighten the grip of Carthage on the trade of the area: Himilco sailed along the Atlantic coast of Spain and across the Bay of Biscay at least as far as Brittany, and probably intended to explore the old Tartessian tin-trade; Hanno sailed south, founding several colonies along the

Atlantic coast of Morocco, and exploring perhaps to beyond the Sahara, establishing or confirming Carthaginian access to supplies of West African gold. (On Hanno's voyage, see further on pp. 128, 134-7.)

Despite these successes, Mago's family did not retain its position of power in Carthage. The tension between the generals and the Senate was resolved in favour of the Senate. Hanno and other members of the family were brought to trial and exiled, and a board of 104 members of the Senate, who held office for life, was set up to supervise the activities of the generals and punish delinquents. A close control was thus established over the generals, and military failure was frequently punished by execution. Mago's descendants remained important at Carthage, and continued to monopolize military appointments into the fourth century BC, their final fall from power being perhaps due to the suicide of Hanno's son Himilco after a disastrous defeat in Sicily in 396. Thus was established the oligarchic regime under which Carthage was governed until the democratic reforms of Hannibal in 196 BC. The Senate, acting in harmony with the *sufets*, was all-powerful. If the *sufets* and the Senate were agreed on a measure, it did not need to come before the Assembly. The Senate seems even to have appointed the generals in this period. Carthage was praised by conservative Greek writers, such as Aristotle, for its political stability and the docility of its masses. Aristotle attributed this to the wealth derived from the Carthaginian empire, which was used to buy off popular discontent. We hear, in fact, of two attempts by aspiring 'tyrants' to seize power in Carthage under the Republic, but neither attracted popular support. In c. 360 BC the leading politician of the day, another Hanno, having failed in a plot to assassinate the entire Senate by poison, fled from the city and attempted to raise an army of slaves and Libyans, but was captured and executed. In 308 a general, Bomilcar, used his troops in an attempted coup d'état, but the citizens rose against him. Surrendering on a promise of his life, he too was executed. The admiring Greeks, however, criticized the importance of wealth (as opposed to birth or 'merit') in the acquisition of political power at Carthage. The governing class of Carthage was simply the rich, without distinction of origin, and even (another fault in the eyes of the gentleman-philosophers of Greece) without distinguishing between landed and commercial wealth.

Carthage ended her isolation in 409 BC by again attacking the Greeks in Sicily. This resumption of military expansion in the Mediterranean was accompanied by a revival of commercial contacts with the Greek world. Indeed, paradoxically, this period of renewed military conflict

with the Greeks was also one in which Carthaginian civilization became deeply influenced by Greece, as seen most dramatically in the official institution at Carthage of a cult of the Greek goddesses Demeter and Kore in 396 BC. Throughout the fourth century, Carthage fought a series of wars in Sicily against Syracuse and the other Greek cities, without either side gaining a decisive victory. The most interesting episode from an African point of view occurred in 310, when Agathokles, the 'tyrant' of Syracuse, faced by a Carthaginian siege of Syracuse, attempted to draw off the besieging forces by himself invading North Africa. Agathokles won some spectacular successes, capturing Tunis and Hadrumetum, and inciting revolts among the Libyan subjects and Numidian allies of Carthage. In 308 he won the alliance of Ophellas, whom Ptolemy had left in control of Cyrene, for a joint assault on Carthage, after which Ophellas should rule Africa, and Agathokles Sicily. Ophellas, with a strong army and a vast body of prospective Greek colonists, made the long desert march along the coast of Tripolitania to join Agathokles. At this point the situation of Carthage was rendered even more desperate by the abortive coup d'état of the general Bomilcar to which reference has been made above. But dissension broke out on the Greek side also, and Ophellas was murdered by Agathokles. Though Agathokles went on to capture Utica and Hippo, and his forces overran much of the interior, the Carthaginians still controlled the sea and could supply the city by ship, so that Agathokles never really came close to a decisive victory. The Libyans and Numidians increasingly held aloof from the conflict, awaiting the outcome before they would commit themselves to either side, and Agathokles was finally (307 BC) forced to abandon his army in Africa and retire to Sicily. The last war fought by Carthage against the Greeks of Sicily was that in which the Greeks were led by Pyrrhos, King of Epeiros (276-275 BC). By 270 the Romans had completed their conquest of southern Italy, and Carthage found her position in Sicily threatened from a new quarter. Previously relations between Carthage and Rome had been friendly. There had been treaties recognizing spheres of influence, and even a measure of common policy against Pyrrhos. But now there was a confrontation which led (in 264 BC) to open war, and ultimately (in 146) to the destruction of Carthage by the Romans.

The Carthaginian empire was commercial rather than territorial, centred on the Mediterranean rather than on North Africa. The empire comprised the North African coast from the Altars of Philainos in the east to the Atlantic coast of Morocco in the west, Gades and other coastal

cities in southern Spain, western Sicily and the western Mediterranean islands – Malta, Sardinia, and Ibiza and the Balearic islands. Effective rule was everywhere limited to the coast: even in Sardinia, the Carthaginians never occupied the mountains of the interior. Only in the immediate hinterland of Carthage itself was a large area of territory controlled. The subject Phoenician cities paid to Carthage customs duties, but not normally tribute, and were required to supply forces for the Punic army. Internally they were virtually autonomous. The city of Utica had a special position as a (nominally) free and equal ally. Carthage also on occasion exacted tribute from some of the Greek cities in Sicily. The main concern of the Carthaginians was to maintain their empire as a trade monopoly. This policy is illustrated by the treaties made between Carthage and Rome in 509 and 348 BC. In the first, in return for the recognition by Carthage of Roman interests in central Italy, the Romans undertook not to sail along the coast of Africa west of Carthage unless forced to do so by weather or enemy action, and, if so forced, not to trade, but to leave within five days. Romans could trade in the rest of North Africa and in Sardinia only in the presence of an official, and had equal rights of trade with Carthaginian citizens only in Carthage itself and in the Carthaginian province in Sicily. The treaty of 348 BC further restricted the Romans, forbidding them to sail south of a point on the Spanish coast, and barring them completely from Sardinia and North Africa, allowing them to trade only in Carthage and Sicily. Similar treaties appear to have been made with the Etruscans. Non-friendly peoples, such as the Greeks, were dealt with more summarily: any Greek ship venturing into Carthaginian waters was sunk. By these means Carthage maintained a monopoly of the supply of the commodities of the west – Sardinian and North African corn, Spanish silver, British tin and West African gold – to the Mediterranean world. It seems that Carthaginian manufactures were in general inferior to those of Greece, and would never have survived in an open market. Carthage secured by her military power a situation in which, free from competition, her traders could purchase precious metals with goods of little value – wine, olive-oil, perfume, cloth and trinkets. These precious metals could then be used to pay for the commodities which Carthage desired to import from the Greeks, who were not interested in Carthaginian manufactures (with the exception of some textiles). One puzzle about Carthaginian commerce is that, despite her extensive involvement in trade, Carthage did not begin to issue coins until relatively late. This is perhaps to be explained in terms of the odd

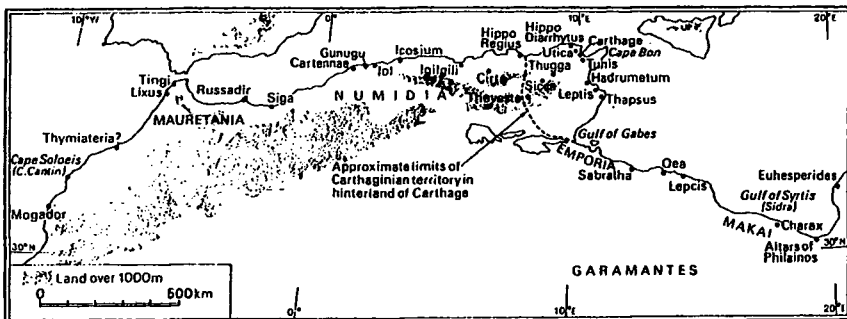
structure of her commerce: her main trade was with the primitive peoples of Spain and Africa, and operated by barter, while to the Greeks she paid silver in bullion rather than coin form. The first Carthaginian coins were struck only at the end of the fifth century BC, a century and a half after the earliest coins of Greece, and then only for the payment of Greek mercenaries employed in Sicily. Carthage established a regular metropolitan coinage only in the third century BC, a development which is probably to be connected with an intensification of trade with Egypt under the dynasty of the Ptolemies.

The commercial monopoly of Carthage rested ultimately on her military power, on her ability to deny to others by force access to the resources of the west. Carthage had the strongest navy in the western Mediterranean. Her galleys were probably manned mainly by Phoenicians, though in emergencies at any rate slaves might be employed. Probably Carthage alone of the western Phoenician cities possessed warships. The Carthaginian army was quite different in character. Carthaginians formed a very small proportion of the troops, and indeed, after the fourth century BC no substantial citizen forces ever served outside Africa. This was a considered policy on the part of Carthage, to avoid crippling losses from among the citizen body. The army was recruited partly from the subject Phoenician cities, but mainly from non-Phoenicians subject or allied to Carthage or engaged as mercenaries. The generals, however, were normally Carthaginians, and it was rare even for non-Carthaginian Phoenicians to hold a high command. The main strength of the Punic army was the heavy infantry, armed with swords and thrusting-spears, drawn principally from the subject Libyans, though considerable use was also made of Greek, Italian and Gallic mercenaries. The best light infantry troops were javelin-throwers recruited from the Numidians and Mauri, and slingers from the Balearic islands. Cavalry was supplied by the Phoenicians, and in the third century BC also by Numidian allies. During the fifth and fourth centuries, Punic armies frequently made use of horse-drawn war-chariots, which were probably also supplied by the Numidians, and which made a massed charge at the beginning of the action to disorder the enemy's ranks. Later the tactical role of the war-chariot was taken over by the war-elephant, which Alexander had discovered in use in India and adopted, and which Pyrrhos introduced into the western Mediterranean in the 270s BC. The Carthaginians began to train North African elephants for use in war, sending expeditions into the Numidian interior to capture them. The practice of employing foreign, mainly

mercenary, troops may have been successful in conserving citizen manpower, but it had the disadvantage of expense. A protracted land war was a ruinous financial drain for Carthage. At the end of her first war with Rome (241 BC), Carthage was unable to pay her mercenaries, who mutinied and fought a vicious war against Carthage for three years before being suppressed. Carthaginian power thus rested upon her financial rather than upon her human resources. Control of the silver of Spain was necessary for the military power of Carthage, just as her military power was necessary for the maintenance of that control.

CARTHAGE AND NORTH AFRICA

While it is true that, as has been observed above, Carthage was essentially a Mediterranean rather than an African power, nevertheless her dominion and influence extended over a considerable area of North Africa, and the specifically African aspects of her history require special consideration in a history of Africa. Carthage itself was, after all, situated in North Africa, as were the majority of the Phoenician cities subject to her. It is difficult to estimate the scale of Phoenician settlement in North Africa. Carthage itself was a great city, with a population estimated by one ancient writer somewhat improbably as 700,000, more conservatively by modern scholars as perhaps up to 400,000. Of the other North African colonies, some of the older Phoenician foundations, such as Utica and Lixus, were considerable cities, but most were mere trading-stations, or, to use the Greek term for them, *emporía*. These settlements served as victualling stations along the coasting routes to Spain and Egypt, but they also had an economic significance of their own as centres for fishing and as posts for trade with the peoples of the interior.



20 The Carthaginian sphere in North-West Africa.

In the east, as has been seen, the boundary of Phoenician control of the coast was set at the Altars of Philainos on the Gulf of Syrtis. On the coast of Tripolitania, the most important city was the old Tyrian foundation of Lepcis. Lepcis, with its western neighbours Oea (on the site of modern Tripoli) and Sabratha, formed the 'Tripolis', or 'three Cities', from which the name of Tripolitania is derived. The hinterland of Lepcis, the Kinyps area, produced corn, flax and probably (as it certainly did later, in Roman times) olive-oil. Another important agricultural area was the Gulf of Gabes littoral to the west, which was called by the Greeks (probably translating a Punic term) the 'Emporia', or 'Trading-Stations'. The term *emporia* is sometimes extended to include Lepcis, and it has been suggested that Lepcis functioned as the administrative headquarters of the whole coast from the Gulf of Gabes to the Altars of Philainos. Lepcis paid to Carthage, perhaps on behalf of the whole province, customs dues amounting to no less than one *talent* of silver per day. Besides agriculture, the coastal settlements of Tripolitania were also important for fishing, including the collection of 'purples', the molluscs from which the Phoenicians extracted dye for their textiles, and for trade with the interior. In the east, the Carthaginians traded wine at Charax for *silphion* smuggled out of Cyrenaica, and precious stones were obtained from the Nasamones, the Libyan tribe inhabiting the shores of the Gulf of Syrtis. Lepcis and the other cities of the Tripolis appear to have functioned as the *termini* of trade-routes extending across the Sahara to the oases of the Fezzan, which were inhabited by the Libyan tribe of the Garamantes. From the Garamantes the Carthaginians imported the precious stones known in antiquity as *carbuncles* (not certainly identified), which were re-exported, at great profit, to the Mediterranean world, and perhaps a few slaves, which the Garamantes could obtain by raiding among the negroid peoples to their south. There is, however, no evidence in Punic times for any trans-Saharan trade in ivory, such as seems to have existed later in Roman times: at this period, a plentiful supply of ivory could still be derived from the elephants of North-West Africa. Nor is there any evidence that the Carthaginians imported West African gold across the Sahara. The operation of the trans-Saharan caravans was normally left to the Garamantes, but Carthaginian merchants may occasionally have travelled to the Fezzan. A tall tale of a Carthaginian called Mago who 'crossed the desert three times, eating dry barley and not drinking',¹ is possibly an echo of such journeys (but see chapter 5, p. 284).

¹ Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, II. 44c.

The densest Phoenician settlement in North Africa was to be found on the coasts of what is now Tunisia. Here were several cities of some size. On the eastern coast the principal cities were Thapsus, Leptis¹ and Hadrumetum. In the north were Tunis, Carthage itself, Utica and Hippo.² Further west, there were numerous small Punic *emporía*, which provided access to the commodities of the interior of Numidia and Mauretania, principally ivory, hides and cedar wood. Siga, as has been seen, was an early Phoenician colony. Igilgili (Djidjelli), Icosium (Algiers), Iol (Cherchel), Gunugu (Gouraya), Cartennae (Tenes), where there was an important copper-mine, and Rusaddir (Melilla) were all occupied in Punic times. Tingi (Tangier) was possibly in origin a Libyan town, but it came under Carthaginian control and acquired a Phoenician character. On the Atlantic coast of North Africa the most important city was the Tyrian colony of Lixus. Further south, the Phoenician settlement on Mogador island had been abandoned by the end of the sixth century BC, but was reoccupied in the third century. In the generation after 480 Hanno colonized along the coast, founding Thymiateria (Mehedia?) and five other cities south of Cape Soloeis (Cape Cantin) whose sites have not been located. A final (but abortive) colony was established by Hanno on the island of Cerne, unidentified, but apparently off the Saharan coast. The Atlantic coast was chiefly important for fishing, including fishing for purples. Cerne also served as a base for trade with the native peoples, from whom the Carthaginians purchased hides, ivory and, apparently, West African gold. (On Hanno's voyage and the trade of Cerne, see further on pp. 134-9.)

Through most of North Africa Carthaginian rule was restricted to the coastal cities, but in the immediate hinterland of Carthage itself the Carthaginians also came to rule over a considerable territory in the interior. This extension of Carthaginian rule inland did not begin until many years after the foundation of Carthage. Initially, as has been seen, the Carthaginians paid to the local Libyans an annual tribute in return for possession of the land on which the city was built. 'Malchus', in the sixth century BC, is said to have campaigned successfully against the Libyans, and perhaps as a result of his campaigns the payment of the

¹ Leptis was known in Roman times as Leptis Minor ('Lesser Leptis'), to distinguish it from Lepcis in Tripolitania, whose name was often mis-spelt as Leptis, and which was called Leptis Magna ('Great Leptis').

² Hippo was later known as Hippo Diarrhytus ('Flowed-through Hippo', meaning that it was situated on a river), to distinguish it from another, much less important, Hippo which was situated near Bone. The second Hippo became known as Hippo Regius ('Royal Hippo') when it was included in the independent kingdom of Numidia in the second century BC.

tribute lapsed. But in the generation before 480, in the time of Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, the Libyans defeated the Carthaginians and again exacted payment, with arrears. It was only in the generation after 480 that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, with his brothers and cousins, finally defeated the Libyans and ended the tribute. Hanno's victory, which was quickly followed by the extension of Carthaginian rule into the interior, marks the beginning of the development of Carthage as a truly African power. As one Greek writer put it, with some rhetorical exaggeration: 'Hanno transformed the Carthaginians from Tyrians into Africans – thanks to him, they lived in Africa rather than in Phoenicia'.¹ The precise stages by which Carthaginian rule was extended over the interior are not recorded. Our sources refer vaguely to wars with the Libyans, but give few details. Our earliest evidence for the extent of Carthaginian rule in the interior comes from a Greek account of the campaigns of Agathokles against Carthage in 307 BC, from which it appears that the town of Thugga (Dougga), about 120 km south-west of Carthage, was by then already subject to Carthage.² On the other hand, the town of Theveste (Tebessa), some 140 km beyond Thugga, is recorded to have been captured by the Carthaginians in the 240s BC. The ultimate boundaries of Carthaginian rule are equally obscure. At some point the Carthaginians are said to have demarcated their territory with earthworks known as the 'Phoenician Trenches'. The course of these earthworks is unknown, but in any case by the end of the third century BC the Carthaginians had conquered and garrisoned towns beyond the 'Phoenician Trenches'. Greek writers sometimes use the term 'Libyans' (*Libyes*) in a restricted sense to refer to the native subjects of Carthage, as opposed to the independent tribes of the Numidians and Mauri to the west. Latin writers, presumably transcribing some Punic or Libyan name, call the same people *Afri*. The name *Africa* ('Land of the Afri') was originally applied to the Roman province created out of the conquered Carthaginian territory in 146 BC.

The land acquired by the Carthaginians was treated in two different ways. In the Cape Bon peninsula east of Carthage, the Libyan occupants were evicted, and the land passed into private Carthaginian ownership. Here the wealthy Carthaginians developed large estates, using slave labour, on which they practised mixed farming – cereal culture, arboriculture (olives, figs, pomegranates), herding (cattle, sheep, horses) and

¹ Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, xxv. 7.

² Diodorus Siculus, *Library of history*, xx. 57.4: for the interpretation of this passage, see S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, II (Paris, 1921), 95.

bee-keeping. Punic farming was technically advanced: there was a famous farming manual written by a Carthaginian called Mago, which was translated into Latin, and from which a few quotations survive. In the interior there was no such colonization. The only exception is the town of Sicca (Le Kef), which is said to have been a settlement of the Elymoi, a native people of western Sicily who were subjects of Carthage. Elsewhere the Libyans were left in possession of their land, but subjected to heavy taxation. In these areas, farming was apparently confined to cereal culture. During the first war of Carthage against Rome (264–241 BC), the rural Afri paid to Carthage no less than one-half of the produce of their lands: since at the same time the taxes imposed on the native towns had been doubled to finance the war, the normal tax at this period was presumably 25%. The cereals paid in taxes by the Afri served not only to feed the enormous population of Carthage, but also to supply the Punic armies abroad, and probably quantities were also exported to other Mediterranean countries. It is her control of the interior and its corn which explains the continued prosperity of Carthage even after 201 BC, when, by her defeat in the second war against Rome, she had lost control of Spain and its silver. In the fifth and fourth centuries BC the Afri were also liable to conscription for service in the Punic army. In the third century, however, the Afri were recruited on a voluntary basis as mercenaries: most of the mercenaries involved in the great mutiny of 241–238 BC were Libyans. By thus professionalizing the army the Carthaginians no doubt secured better soldiers. The change was probably accompanied by an increase in the scale of taxation of the Afri. The Afri, equipped in Carthaginian fashion as heavy infantry, formed the main fighting strength of the Punic armies. Little is known of how the administration of the subject area was organized. On the probable assumption that the Romans and the Numidian kings who partitioned the Carthaginian territory after 146 BC took over the Punic system of administration, it can be inferred that the territory was divided into several, probably six, administrative districts, called in Punic *'rst* (in Latin, *pagi*), but the precise boundaries and functions of these districts are unclear. Carthage secured the loyalty of the Afri by placing garrisons in the towns and taking hostages from suspect communities.

Our sources leave little doubt that Carthaginian rule was harsh and unpopular. Polybius, writing with specific reference to the war of 264–241 BC, observes:

The Carthaginians admired and honoured among their generals not those who

treated the [Libyan] people mildly and kindly, but those who secured for them the greatest revenues for civil and military purposes, and who treated the people in the countryside most harshly.¹

Polybius is a hostile witness, but his judgement on Carthaginian rule is supported by the frequency of revolts among the Afri. The first recorded revolt occurred in 396 BC, when the Afri were encouraged by a disastrous plague which had weakened Carthage, and infuriated by the action of a Carthaginian general in abandoning a large force of Libyan troops in Sicily. The rebels, who were joined by many slaves from the Carthaginian farms, captured Tunis and besieged Carthage, but the city could be supplied by sea, and dissensions and treachery within the rebel leadership led to their speedy defeat. A second revolt is recorded in 379. No details are reported, but the revolt seems to have lasted for several years. In c. 360 BC Hanno attempted to raise the Afri in support of his coup d'état, but it is not recorded whether they responded. Many of the Afri joined Agathokles against Carthage in 310-307, and supported the mercenaries in 241-238. After 238 BC, however, no further serious revolts are recorded. Perhaps the Carthaginians had learned the advantages to be gained, in the long run, by a more conciliatory treatment of their subjects.

Besides the area which they controlled directly, the Carthaginians included many of the coastal Libyans to the west in a system of alliances which bound them to supply troops for the Punic army. Most important of these were the various tribes of the Numidians, situated between the Carthaginian territory and the river Moulouya, but the Mauri, to the west of the Moulouya, also provided troops on occasions. The earliest evidence for these alliances is from a campaign of 406 BC. Numidians and Mauri were also recruited individually as mercenaries. During the third century, Carthage was especially dependent upon her Numidian allies for the excellent light cavalry which they provided. The Numidians were as liable as the Afri to prove false in times of Carthaginian weakness. Many of the Numidians allied with Agathokles in 310-307 BC. Another war with the Numidians is recorded in 255, and some Numidians joined the mercenaries in 241-238. During the second war of Carthage with Rome (218-201), the Numidian kings intrigued with both sides, and ultimately the defection to Rome of a Numidian chief, Masinissa, was crucial in causing the defeat of the Punic army in North Africa in 202 BC.

It is natural to suppose that during their long residence in North

¹ Polybius, *Histories*, I. 72.3.

Africa the Phoenicians, like the Greeks in Cyrenaica, absorbed Libyan elements into their population and culture. But Libyan influence is more difficult to document in the case of the Phoenicians. As with the Greeks, it can be assumed that the slave population of the Phoenician cities was predominantly Libyan, though the Phoenicians also made considerable use of prisoners of war taken from other Mediterranean nations. Intermarriage may be suspected, but is difficult to document. As in Cyrenaica, Libyan influence on the culture of the colonists is perhaps to be found in the sphere of religion. In certain respects, the religion of the Phoenicians in North Africa was extremely conservative. They retained, for example, the custom of human sacrifice, particularly of infants, after it had fallen into disuse in the Phoenician homeland. But in other respects there was a startling transformation. In their homeland, the principal deities of the Phoenicians had been the god Melqart and the goddess Astarte. In North Africa, Melqart remains important, but Astarte almost disappears. The most venerated deities in Carthage were the paired sun and moon deities, the god Baal Hammon and the goddess Tanit Pene Baal ('Tanit, Face of Baal'), with the latter, though nominally inferior, the more regarded. Both these deities probably owe something to the Libyans. Baal Hammon is often represented as a man with a ram's horns, and was evidently identified with the Libyan sun-god called by the Greeks Ammon, whose influence in Cyrenaica has been mentioned. It is tempting to see Baal Hammon as a simple fusion of a Phoenician Baal with the Libyan Ammon, but modern scholars incline to the view that the name *Baal Hammon* is a genuine Phoenician title, meaning probably 'Lord of the Incense Altars'. The identification with Ammon is, however, incontestable as a secondary development, no doubt facilitated by the similarity of names. The case of Tanit is more mysterious, since she is virtually unknown in the Phoenician homeland, and even her name seems not to be Phoenician. It is at least possible that she was a Libyan goddess adopted by the Phoenician colonists.¹

The Phoenicians in turn influenced the culture of the Libyans. Their influence was naturally strongest in the area conquered and directly controlled by Carthage. The Afri learned new military techniques while serving as heavy infantry in the Punic army, and suffered the imposition of a Carthaginian administration. Knowledge of the Punic language and Punic culture became widely disseminated in the area. We

¹ For a recent statement of the case for ascribing an African origin to Tanit, see V. Giustolisi, *Le Origine della Dea Tanit e dei suoi simboli* (Palermo, 1970).

later find the Afri practising Punic religion and adopting Punic municipal institutions. The town of Sicca became an important cult centre, frequented by the surrounding Libyans, for a goddess (perhaps Astarte) identified by the Romans with Venus, in which the Oriental custom of temple prostitution was practised. There is archaeological evidence that the people of Thugga practised the Phoenician rite of infant sacrifice. Thugga and other Libyan towns also had constitutions of Phoenician type, in which the chief magistrates had the title of *sufet*. Phoenician influence also became strong among the Numidians outside the Carthaginian territory, but this development is unlikely to have become important before the third century BC, and Carthaginian influence became strongest, paradoxically, after Carthage had lost her political dominance over the Numidians in 201 BC, so that it falls outside the chronological scope of this chapter. However, the Carthaginians were probably responsible for the introduction of certain technical innovations which may have been widely adopted by the peoples of the Maghrib at an early date, notably the practice of arboriculture and the technique of iron-smelting. That the Libyans owed their knowledge of iron to the Phoenicians seems, on purely presumptive grounds, probable, and is perhaps directly attested by the apparent derivation of the Berber word for iron, *barzel*, from the Punic *azzel* (though this derivation has been disputed). But it is as yet unclear how soon the Libyans learned the technique of smelting iron. On this point, as on others connected with the question of Phoenician influence in North Africa, it is to be hoped that the progress of archaeological research will provide some hard evidence.

CARTHAGE AND SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The main importance of Carthage in African history lies in her activities in and influence upon North Africa. But perhaps an equal interest, if not an equal importance, attaches to the question of her possible relations with sub-Saharan Africa. By this is meant not her trans-Saharan contacts, which, if they existed, were indirect, passing through the agency of the Garamantes or other peoples of the desert, but the direct contacts which she appears to have established by sea. The sources which refer to these contacts raise, without answering, important questions for the early history of West Africa. (See also chapter 5, pp. 292-300.)

Maritime enterprise along the West African coast was not exclusively

Carthaginian. Euthymenes, a Greek from Massalia (Marseilles), at an uncertain date sailed down the coast as far as a large river in which he observed crocodiles and hippopotamuses – conceivably the Senegal. The Persian Sataspes, as has been noted above, was sent by King Xerxes (486–465 BC) on an abortive attempt to circumnavigate Africa from the west. He returned claiming that his ship had stuck fast and refused to go forwards; presumably it had run into adverse currents. At his furthest point, he reported seeing ‘small men’ who lived in towns and kept cattle. It is unfortunate that there is no way of telling how far south Sataspes had reached – quite possibly not even to beyond the Sahara. But despite occasional intrusions by such outsiders, the Atlantic was normally a Carthaginian preserve. The Carthaginians had secured control over the old Phoenician cities of Gades and Lixus, probably towards the end of the sixth century BC, and founded colonies of their own further along the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Fishing operations, in which ships of Gades were especially active, carried the Phoenician colonists beyond the limits of their permanent settlements. In this way, the Gaditans appear to have discovered, but not colonized, the island of Madeira. But the exploration of the coast along and beyond the Sahara was due not to local initiative, but to the action of the Carthaginian government.

The achievement of first reaching sub-Saharan Africa by sea from the west probably belongs to a certain Hanno, who was commissioned by the Carthaginians to establish colonies along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and explored a good deal further. The date of Hanno’s voyage is uncertain. Modern scholars are agreed that it is to be placed in the fifth century BC, but a more precise dating is difficult. The view adopted above, which identifies this Hanno with the Hanno son of Hamilcar known to have been prominent at Carthage in the generation after 480, is perhaps the most attractive, but it is by no means beyond dispute. Hanno inscribed an account of his voyage in the Temple of Baal Hammon at Carthage, and we possess what purports to be a Greek translation of his account. Briefly, Hanno relates that he established six colonies along the Moroccan coast, and sailed on to a river Lixus, where he picked up interpreters from the local nomads. He then sailed for three days along a desert coast before founding a final colony on the island of Cerne. From Cerne, two further voyages were undertaken. On the first, Hanno explored a river Chretes, apparently in the immediate vicinity of Cerne. On the second, he explored further along the coast, which beyond Cerne was inhabited by people described as ‘Ethiopians’.

Twelve days' sail brought Hanno to a wooded headland. Passing this headland, he explored the coast for some distance beyond it, noting in particular a large mountain with fire issuing from it (presumably a volcano) called the 'Platform (or Chariot) of the Gods'. He finally turned back when his provisions gave out.

The identification of the places described by Hanno is disputed. No scholar has yet succeeded in producing an entirely satisfactory interpretation of the text. This is perhaps not altogether surprising. It is unlikely that the text has altogether escaped mutilation in the process of translation from Punic to Greek and in its subsequent transmission. There may also have been some interpolation of additional material, though the view that the whole text, or at least the latter portion of it which appears to refer to exploration beyond the Sahara, is a literary forgery,¹ lacks plausibility. A further difficulty in the identification of the places mentioned is the possibility of substantial changes in the configuration of the coastline since Hanno's time. It is a measure of the obscurity of the problem that while some commentators have argued that Hanno reached the Gabon area, others have taken him no further than southern Morocco. Among the latter group, special consideration needs to be given to Professor Mauny (cf. chapter 5, pp. 292-300), who argues on general grounds that neither Hanno nor any other ancient navigator could have passed Cape Juby.² Along this section of the coast, the prevailing winds and currents facilitate a voyage from north to south, but make the return journey northwards extremely difficult. Mauny argues that the return journey from beyond Cape Juby became feasible only with the introduction of the 'lateen' sail, which enabled ships to sail close to the wind, in the Islamic period, and that it would have been altogether impossible for the square-rigged ships used in the Mediterranean during classical times. He concedes that the voyage might have been possible for galleys, powered by oars rather than sails, such as Hanno is explicitly said to have used, but argues that galleys could not have carried sufficient supplies of water for their large crews of rowers for the long journey along the dry Saharan coast. But not all scholars would accept Mauny's general argument, and it is difficult to see how, in the absence of practical tests, it could be established with any certainty.

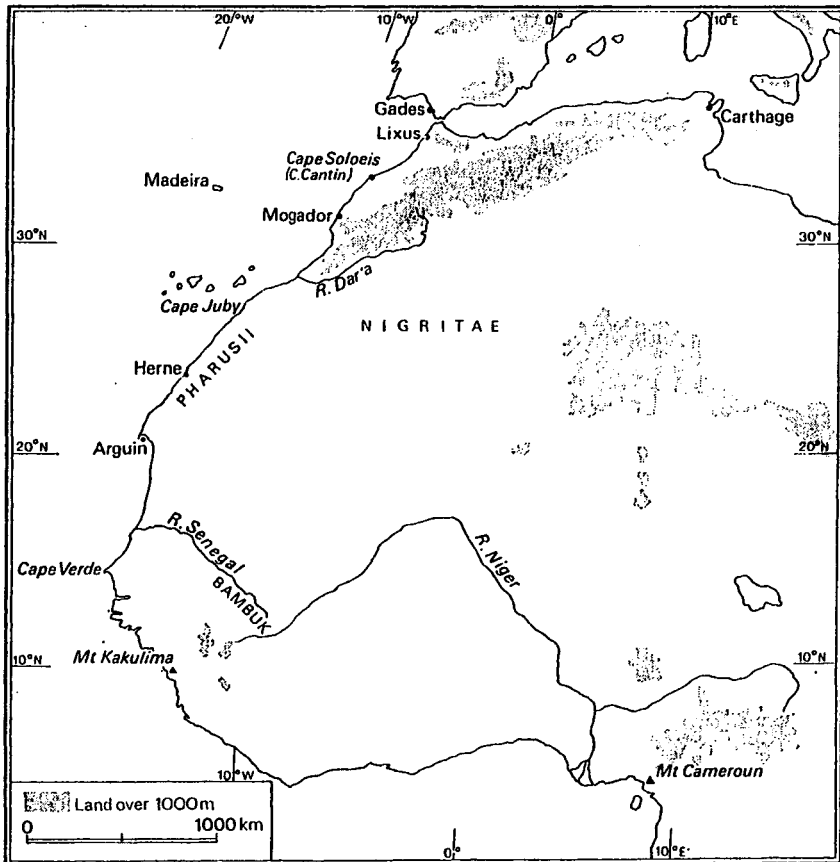
A study of Hanno's text itself seems to indicate that he got much

¹ For this view, see G. Germain, 'Qu'est-ce que le Périple d'Hannon? Document, amplification littéraire, ou faux intégral?', *Hespéris*, 1957, 44, 205-48.

² See especially R. Mauny, 'La navigation sur les côtes du Sahara pendant l'antiquité', *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1955, 57, 92-101.

NORTH AFRICA, c. 800 TO 323 BC

further along the coast. Most commentators, indeed, have held that Hanno's river Lixus is the Wadi Dar'a, having nothing to do with the city of Lixus further north, and that the wooded headland twelve days' sail south of Cerne is Cape Verde. Beyond this, the 'Platform of the Gods' has been alternatively identified with Mount Kakulima in the Republic of Guinea and with Mount Cameroun. This last question is difficult to resolve, and, however fascinating, it is of little importance to fix the furthest limit of Hanno's explorations, since there is no question that the Carthaginians ever established regular contacts so far along the coast. The crucial question is the location of Cerne, Hanno's furthest colony, which later served as a base for Carthaginian trade in the area. Hanno places it three days' sail south of the river Lixus, and twelve days north of the wooded headland identified with Cape Verde



21 Carthaginian exploration along the Atlantic coast.

(supposing these figures to be correctly transmitted in the text), and also states vaguely that it was about the same distance from the Straits of Gibraltar as Carthage. He also implies that it was near to a river called Chretes. An independent description of Cerne, in a Greek commercial guide of c. 340 BC wrongly attributed in antiquity to Skylax, places it twelve days' sail from the Straits, and confirms that it was close to a river, which the writer however names as Xion. No satisfactory identification for Cerne has been found. The islands of Herne and Arguin have been frequently suggested, but there is no appropriate river by either place. Numerous other guesses have been made, some seeking to place Cerne as far south as the Senegal estuary. The question cannot be settled by a study of the texts, and its resolution must await a thorough archaeological examination of the suggested sites. To date, the most southerly site on the coast to have yielded archaeological evidence of Phoenician occupation is the island of Mogador. Mauny, indeed, would identify Cerne with Mogador, but this is difficult to accept, as the Phoenician settlement there seems to have been established during the seventh century BC and abandoned at the end of the sixth century, some time before the probable date of Hanno's voyage.

The importance of Cerne lies in its use as a base for Carthaginian trade down the west coast of Africa. This trade is described in any detail in only two passages of ancient literature. Neither account is first-hand, both being written by Greeks from information given by Carthaginians. The first account is from Herodotus (c. 430 BC):

The Carthaginians say that there is a part of Africa with people living in it outside the Straits of Gibraltar. When the Carthaginians arrive there, they take out their wares, set them in a row along the shore, and raise smoke; when the natives see the smoke, they come to the shore, set down gold in payment for the goods, and withdraw; the Carthaginians disembark and examine the gold, and if they think it equals the value of the goods they pick it up and depart, but if not they go back into their ships and wait, and the natives approach and add more gold until they persuade them; neither party is dishonest – the Carthaginians do not touch the gold until it equals the value of the goods, and the natives do not touch the goods until they take the gold.¹

Close parallels to this system of silent barter can be found in later accounts of the gold-trade in the interior of West Africa. The second account of the west coast trade comes from 'Pseudo-Skylax', the writer of c. 340 BC referred to above:

¹ Herodotus, *Histories*, IV. 196.

Beyond Cape Soloeis [Cape Cantin] is a river called Xion, around which dwell Ethiopians . . . Here there is an island called Cerne . . . The voyage from Soloeis to Cerne takes seven days, and the whole voyage from the Straits of Gibraltar to the island of Cerne takes twelve days. It is not possible to sail beyond Cerne because of the shallowness of the sea, mud, and weeds. The merchants are Phoenicians. When they arrive at the island of Cerne they moor their ships, setting up tents for themselves on Cerne. They unload their wares and take them across in small boats to the mainland. There are Ethiopians on the mainland, and it is these with whom they trade. They trade for hides of deer, lions, leopards, hides and teeth of elephants, and hides of domestic cattle. The Ethiopians use ornaments and cups of ivory; their women use anklets of ivory; they even use ivory ornaments for their horses. These Ethiopians are the tallest of all men that we know, over four cubits: some of them are even five cubits. They have beards and long hair, and are the handsomest of men, and whoever is tallest is their king. They employ chariots, javelins, and bows and arrows, using missiles hardened by fire. The Phoenicians import for them perfume, Egyptian stone [probably glass], Attic pottery and jars . . . These Ethiopians drink milk and eat meat, and make much wine from vines. The Phoenicians take away the wine also. They have a large city, to which the Phoenicians sail.¹

The reference here to the pitching of tents on Cerne suggests that Hanno's attempt to establish a permanent settlement on the island had been abandoned. The description of the 'Ethiopians' is of considerable interest in itself. Its authenticity may be suspected, since the writer appears to have incorporated details from Herodotus's account of the quite different 'Ethiopians' of the Upper Nile, in particular the description of them as tall and handsome, their method of selecting kings, and their diet of milk and meat (though this last is a cliché applied generally to pastoral peoples). But the other details are very probably genuine. It is to be noted that if they had prominent beards and long hair, these 'Ethiopians' are unlikely to have been Negroes. It is also of interest that they appear to have had no knowledge of metals.

There is an odd contradiction between the accounts of Herodotus and Pseudo-Skylax. Herodotus describes a trade by silent barter for gold, Pseudo-Skylax a trade for ivory, hides and wine, with a 'large city' whose inhabitants he is able to describe in some detail. The latter's omission of gold is perhaps no great difficulty, explicable on the supposition that his Phoenician informants did not wish to reveal too much about the most profitable aspects of their trade. That Cerne in the fourth century BC *was* a base for trade in gold seems to be attested by Palaiphatos, a rationalizer of myths, who locates the legend of

¹ Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus*, 112.

Perseus and the Gorgons on Cerne, which he describes as 'very rich in gold'.¹ The contradiction over the circumstances of the trade is more serious. One solution would be to suppose that the conditions of trade had changed between c. 430 and c. 340 BC, Herodotus possibly reporting the practice before Hanno's colonization of Cerne. A more attractive solution, however, is to refer the two descriptions to different places on the coast. The silent trade for gold perhaps took place south of Cerne, possibly in the Senegal area. The informants of Pseudo-Skylax will then have been strictly accurate in their account of the commodities traded for at Cerne, but suppressed the fact that the Carthaginians also sailed beyond Cerne to trade for gold.

Wherever Cerne was, and wherever the silent trade for gold took place, the ultimate source of the gold is presumably to be found in the alluvial goldfields of Galam and Bambuk, around the upper Niger and upper Senegal – the same goldfields which later formed the basis of the prosperity and power of Ghana and later states of the western Sudan. It is unprofitable to speculate, on the basis of the written evidence, about the possible impact of the trade on West Africa. It can only be hoped that archaeology will ultimately throw some light on the question. It might, for example, show how far and by what routes the Greek pottery and other commodities imported by the Carthaginians penetrated into the interior.

The west coast trade of the Carthaginians does not seem to have lasted long, for the Romans, who should have gained access to it when they conquered Gades in 206 BC, have little to say about it. The last possible allusion to it is from Caelius Antipater (c. 120 BC), who records that he met a man who claimed to have sailed for trade from Spain (no doubt from Gades) to 'Ethiopia', meaning probably the land of the Ethiopians opposite Cerne.² By the end of the second century BC, though Gaditan ships continued to fish along the coast, the normal limit of their voyages was the river Lixus (Wadi Dar'a). There were occasional later voyages by non-Phoenicians. In about 147 BC, the Greek historian Polybius took a Roman fleet some way down the coast, and reached an island which he thought was Cerne. Another Greek, Eudoxos, made two voyages along the coast in c. 105 BC in an attempt to open up a sea-route around Africa to India, but failed to return from the second. But these later voyages did not lead to any regular contacts. It is not clear why the trade thus came to an end. One source refers to the destruction by the Pharusii and Nigritae, peoples of

¹ Palaiphatos, *περί ἀντίστων*, 31.

² Quoted by Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, II. 169.

the western Sahara, of 'cities of the Tyrians' on the west coast of Africa.¹ It is not certain when this disaster occurred, or even which were the cities involved in it. If the reference to 'cities of the Tyrians' is to be taken literally, they may have been colonies founded direct from Tyre in the days before Carthaginian hegemony, and destroyed possibly even before Hanno's voyage (such as Mogador, perhaps). But the reference may be to Hanno's colonies, destroyed at some time after c. 340 BC. This question might be settled by archaeological investigation. It is at least a possibility that one factor in the decline of Carthaginian trade with West Africa was the destruction of the Phoenician cities along the Moroccan coast.

This is all rather speculative and nebulous. Hardly a single statement of importance is established with any certainty. Altogether, it is difficult to establish the geographical scope, and still more the historical significance for West Africa, of Punic enterprise along the West African coast by a study of the available written evidence. Indeed, it is possible, as Mauny argues, that the Carthaginians never reached sub-Saharan Africa at all. The written sources merely raise a number of tantalizing possibilities, which can be proved or disproved, if at all, only by the provision of more substantial data by the progress of archaeology.

THE LIBYANS

In this final section, some attempt is made to present an account of the indigenous peoples of North Africa during the period of Phoenician and Greek colonization. It is clearly unsatisfactory thus to relegate the Libyans, as it were, to an appendix, but the state of the evidence makes this procedure unavoidable. The historian of North Africa during this period is faced, perhaps to an even greater degree, with problems similar to those involved in the reconstruction of the history of tropical Africa during the period of European colonization. The Libyans were not at this time literate, and all our written sources come from the colonizing peoples. Hence it is difficult not to concentrate attention upon the activities of the colonists, to the neglect of the indigenous peoples. It is unfortunate also that there is as yet no considerable body of archaeological evidence which might compensate for the lack of written information about the Libyans. A certain amount has been recorded above of those of the Libyans who were most directly involved with the colonists. But the greater part of the Libyans were never

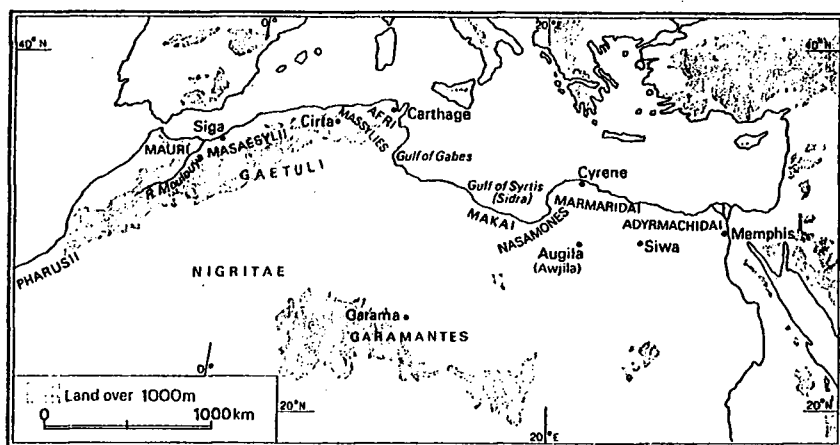
¹ Strabo, *Geography*, xvii. 3.3.

brought under Greek or Phoenician rule, and their history cannot conveniently be considered with that of the immigrant states. Here, therefore, is offered an account, fragmentary and often speculative, of the culture of the Libyans.

In the first place, some comment is needed on the use of the name 'Libyans' as a general term for the inhabitants of North Africa. The North Africans themselves certainly did not call themselves 'Libyans'. It is, indeed, unlikely that they had any common name for themselves, or any feeling of community. The name 'Libyans' (*Libyes*) was apparently derived by the Greeks from *Libu*, the name by which the Egyptians referred to *one* of the tribes on their western border, and the Greeks gave it a general application for which there was no real justification. The name seems to have had for the Greeks an essentially racial significance. They divided the indigenous inhabitants of Africa, outside Egypt, into the 'Libyans' of the north and the 'Ethiopians' of the south. The former were light-skinned, the latter dark-skinned: the word 'Ethiopian' (*Aithiops*) appears to mean 'burnt-faced'. It is easy to slip into supposing that the distinction between Libyans and Ethiopians corresponds with that between Caucasoids and Negroids, but this equation is demonstrably unsound. The term 'Ethiopian', which was in any case not always used with consistency or precision, is often applied to Saharan peoples who must have been Caucasoid, though darker-skinned than the peoples of the Mediterranean seaboard. The presumption is strong, though there is a lack of direct evidence, that the Libyans spoke languages ancestral to the modern Berber dialects of North Africa, which are remotely related both to the Semitic languages and to Ancient Egyptian. The few 'Libyan' words cited by ancient writers are not demonstrably Berber, and the inscriptions left by the Libyans from the second century BC onwards have not yet been successfully deciphered. But various place names and personal names mentioned by classical writers do show that Berber was spoken in North Africa in this period, and it seems likely, though it cannot be proved, that all the Libyans spoke Berber.

The Libyans comprised numerous distinct tribes. The first detailed account of the various Libyan tribes was given by the Greek geographer Hekataios (c. 500 BC), but only a few fragments of his work survive. The earliest writer on the Libyans whose account is preserved in full is Herodotus (c. 430 BC). Little purpose would be served by giving a comprehensive catalogue of all the Libyan tribes mentioned by these and later writers, especially as the nomenclature applied to the

tribes, and very possibly in some cases the distribution and composition of the tribes themselves, were unstable, but the more important tribes will be listed. In the east, bordering upon Egypt, were the Adyrmachidai, who, as has been seen above, were at times subject to Egypt. They were also Egyptianized culturally – Herodotus says of them: ‘For the most part they adopt Egyptian customs, though they wear the same sort of clothes as the other Libyans.’¹ Further west, the hinterland of Cyrenaica was occupied in Herodotus’s time by four tribes, from east to



22 Major Libyan peoples.

west, the Giligamai, the Asbystai, the Auschisai and the Bakales. Later writers, however, apply to the Libyans of Cyrenaica the general name Marmaridai. This may represent primarily a change in nomenclature only, but probably there was also some redistribution and reorganization of the tribes, for some of the later writers refer to the Asbystai as living on the coast of Tripolitania away to the west. To the south-west of Cyrenaica, the shores of the Gulf of Syrtis were occupied during several centuries by the populous tribe of the Nasamones. In Hekataios’s time, the western portion of the shore of the gulf had been occupied by a tribe called the Psylloi, but by the time that Herodotus gathered his information, the Psylloi had been dispossessed by their eastern neighbours, the Nasamones, and apparently driven into the interior, where they are noted by later writers. To the west of the Gulf of Syrtis, the eastern section of the coast of Tripolitania was inhabited by the Makai. Western Tripolitania was occupied by a bewildering succession of small

¹ Herodotus, *Histories*, IV. 168.1.

tribes. In North-West Africa, inhabiting the littoral plain to the west of Carthaginian territory as far as the river Moulouya, were the Numidians (Latin *Numidae*, Greek *Nomades*). Before the second century BC, the Numidians comprised several distinct tribes, the most powerful of which were the Massylii in the east and the Masaesylîi in the west. Further west again, beyond the Moulouya, were the Mauri or 'Moors' (Greek *Maurousioi*).¹ To the south of the Numidians and Mauri, in the highlands of the Atlas mountains and their eastward extensions and in the northern margins of the Sahara, were the Gaetuli. This was a name applied to several distinct tribes. One writer of Roman times asserts that the Gaetuli were divided into three tribes,² and probably the real situation was still more complex. In the western Sahara we hear of the Pharusii, living on the Atlantic shore, and of the Nigritae, inhabiting the valley of a river Nigris or Nigeir,³ which is probably to be identified with the Wadi Saoura. In the central Sahara, the oases of the Fezzan were inhabited by the Garamantes, who had their capital at Garama (Djerma). To the south of these desert peoples, in the southern Sahara and the Sudan, were the 'Ethiopians'.

The culture of the Libyans differed widely from area to area of North Africa. A principal distinction was between those whose economy was based upon agriculture and those who lived by pastoralism. Herodotus states that the Libyans to the east of 'Lake Tritonis' (the Gulf of Gabes) were nomadic pastoralists, while those of the Maghrib were sedentary agriculturalists. This generalization contains a considerable element of truth, in that agriculture was much more commonly practised in the Maghrib than in the east, but it is a gross oversimplification. In the east, it is unclear whether the Libyan tribes of Cyrenaica ever cultivated crops, but in Tripolitania it was presumably the Libyan Makai rather than the Phoenician colonists who farmed the land around the river Kinyps which was so much admired by Herodotus. Moreover, agriculture was certainly practised in the oases of the desert, and Herodotus himself describes the agricultural methods of the Garamantes. In North-West Africa, while it seems clear that the Libyans were practising agriculture before the arrival of the Phoenician colonists, after the fifth

¹ The land of the Mauri was known as *Mauretania*: the modern use of this name is one of the more egregious misnomers of African geography.

² Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, v. 17: the three Gaetulan tribes were the Autololes in the west, the Baniurae in the east, and the Nesimi in the desert to the south of the Atlas range.

³ The river Nigris was to become, through a series of textual corruptions and geographical confusions, the origin of the application of the name *Niger* to the great river of West Africa. The name *Nigris* is, in fact, merely a transcription of the Berber word *n'gher*, meaning 'river'.

century BC most of the cultivated area was brought under Carthaginian control. Outside Carthaginian territory, the Numidians are said to have remained basically nomadic and pastoral for many centuries, and only to have adopted agriculture and urbanism on any scale during the reign of their King Masinissa (201-148 BC), though there were some large towns, notably Masinissa's own capital Cirta (Constantine), even before this time. The Mauri, to the west of the Numidians, retained an essentially nomadic way of life even longer, into Roman times.

Libyan agriculture consisted principally of cereal culture. It seems probable that the techniques of arboriculture were only disseminated in North Africa by the Phoenician colonists. The Libyans did, however, collect the fruits of wild trees: Herodotus describes how the Nasamones used to make seasonal expeditions to the Oasis of Augila (Awjila) in the interior to harvest the dates there. The pastoral economy was based upon oxen, and to a lesser extent on sheep and goats. Pigs were not reared, an omission which Herodotus explains as due to the influence of Egypt, where pigs were regarded as unclean. Also important was the horse, which was the main transport animal during this period not only along the North African littoral but even in the Sahara. Horses were originally employed to draw carts or chariots. The horse-drawn war-chariot was introduced into Egypt from Asia, probably by the Hyksos invaders of the seventeenth century BC, and was presumably adopted by the Libyans from the Egyptians. Such chariots are frequently depicted in the rock art of North Africa, and their use by the Libyans is described by Herodotus and later writers. Subsequently chariots were replaced for military purposes by cavalry. In North-West Africa this development can be dated to the early third century BC, since the last recorded instance of the operation of chariots there concerns the Libyan allies of Agathokles in 307 BC, and the earliest of the use of cavalry relates to Numidian allies of Carthage fighting against the Romans in Sicily in 262. In the Sahara, the use of chariots may have persisted until much later, for Strabo in the first century BC mentions their use by the Pharusii and Nigritae. The replacement of chariotry by cavalry among the allies of Carthage seems to be related to the adoption by Carthage of the war-elephant, which took over the military role of the war-chariot. But the techniques of horse-riding were not introduced to the Libyans by the Carthaginians. North Africa had an indigenous tradition of cavalry fighting, distinguished by the fact that the horses were ridden without saddle or reins, being directed by a stick. The camel, which ultimately replaced the horse as the principal transport animal of North Africa and

the Sahara, appears to have been unknown at this time: the earliest evidence for its use in the Maghrib is only of the second century BC (see chapter 5, p. 288). The usual weapon of the Libyans, employed by their infantry as well as by their chariotry and cavalry, was the javelin. The desert peoples, the Pharusii and Nigritae, and the 'Ethiopians', practised archery as well as the use of the javelin.

It appears that the Libyans whom the first Phoenician and Greek colonists encountered were basically Neolithic in culture. There is little evidence of their using metals before the period of colonization. In the east, the Libyans might have learned the techniques of bronze-smelting and, after the seventh century BC, of iron-smelting from Egypt, but the evidence does not suggest that they did so. It is significant that Herodotus describes a Libyan contingent in the army of Persia in 480 BC, recruited probably from the Adyrmachidai, as using wooden spears with points hardened by fire. However, some metal objects, if not the actual technique of smelting, evidently found their way westwards, since Herodotus elsewhere refers to the wearing of bronze anklets by the women of the Adyrmachidai. In the west, there is some archaeological evidence suggesting that the peoples of what is now Morocco and Mauritania derived a knowledge of copper (but not, to any great extent, of bronze) from the Chalcolithic cultures of Spain (see chapter 5, p. 319). But the scarcity of local supplies of copper no doubt limited the impact of this innovation. It seems probable that the knowledge of iron did not spread among the Libyans until the arrival of the Phoenicians in North-West Africa in the eighth century BC and of the Greeks in Cyrenaica in the seventh century, but it is quite uncertain how quickly the Libyans adopted the use of the metal from the colonists. It is to be noted that, as appears from the description of Pseudo-Skylax quoted above, the Ethiopians on the Atlantic coast opposite Cerne did not profit in this respect from their contacts with the Phoenicians, since in c. 340 BC they were still using wooden spears and arrows with points hardened by fire.

When we turn our attention from the material culture of the Libyans to their beliefs and customs, we find the evidence even more fragmentary. The religion of the Libyans, like that of the Egyptians, seems to have been characterized by a preference for zoomorphic deities. Herodotus states that in general the Libyans worshipped only the Sun and the Moon. The most popular form of the sun deity, and the principal deity of the Libyans, was the ram-headed god Ammon, whose adoption by the Greeks of Cyrenaica and by the Phoenicians of Carthage has been mentioned. The main centre of the Ammon cult was

his temple in the Oasis of Siwa in the east, but he was worshipped by Libyans throughout North Africa, and rock engravings depicting rams bearing the Egyptian sun disc between their horns have been found as far west as the Oran province of Algeria. According to Herodotus, the Siwa temple was an offshoot of the Temple of Amun-Re' at Thebes in Egypt, and it seems clear that the Libyan Ammon was basically a borrowing of the Egyptian god Amun-Re', though probably his cult became fused with those of sun-gods and ram-gods of purely Libyan origin. Of the Libyan moon deity, nothing can be said beyond what Herodotus himself states, unless the Carthaginian moon-goddess Tanit is, as has been suggested, a borrowing from the Libyans. Herodotus also states that the eastern Libyans venerated the Egyptian cow-goddess Isis, and observed the Egyptian prohibition on the meat of cows. Other Egyptian deities adopted by the Libyans were perhaps the gods Osiris and Bes, who seem to be depicted in rock engravings of the Fezzan. The Libyans also practised a cult of the dead. Herodotus, for example, states that the Nasamones

swear oaths by men who are said to have been especially just and good, laying their hands on their tombs, and for divination they go to the graves of their ancestors and, after praying, lie down to sleep upon them, and make use of whatever dreams come to them.¹

The social and political institutions of the Libyans are even more elusive than their religion. As regards their social structure, there are several references to polygamy, an institution which Greek and Roman writers often misinterpreted or misrepresented as promiscuity. Polygamy was evidently widespread, if not universal, among the Libyans. There is also evidence that succession among the Numidians originally passed not from father to son but, probably, to the eldest surviving member of the family.² Somewhat surprisingly, there is no evidence in the classical period for matrilineal succession, which is known to have been practised in more recent times by at least some of the Berber tribes.

Not much more is known of the political institutions of the Libyans. It is even difficult to identify political units among them. It must often be in doubt whether the application by ancient writers of a single name to the Libyans occupying a particular area can be taken to imply that they formed in a political sense a single tribe, or even a confederation of

¹ Herodotus, *Histories*, iv. 172.3.

² Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, xxix. 29.6, records that on the death of Gaia, King of the Massylians, c. 208 BC, the throne passed not to his son but to his brother, and observes, *ita mos apud Numidas est* ('This is the custom among the Numidians').

tribes. This was certainly not true, for example, of the Gaetuli or of the Numidians before the second century BC, and probably not of the Marmaridai. There are occasional references to 'kings' of various Libyan tribes in this period. The indigenous title so translated in our sources was, among the eastern Libyans, according to Herodotus, *battos* – which title, it will be recalled, was adopted as a personal name by the Greek kings of Cyrene. The title *battos* cannot be connected with any word known in any of the languages of North Africa: the suggestion that it is to be related to *bity*, the Egyptian title of the King of Lower Egypt, is most improbable. The kings of Numidia, at least in the second century BC, used the title *gld*, which perhaps represents *aguellid*, a Berber word for 'king'. In the east, one might suspect a derivation of political forms from Egypt. The kings of the Adyrmachidai, who played a prominent role in the Egyptian revolts against Persia in the fifth century BC, were, it will be recalled, Egyptians, and possibly appointed from Egypt. However, the only custom described by Herodotus in connection with kingship among the Adyrmachidai, that of the deflowering of prospective brides by the king, was evidently of indigenous inspiration, though Herodotus notes that it was practised only by the Adyrmachidai among the Libyans. Further west we occasionally hear of kings of other Libyan tribes, such as Adikran, who led the Asbystai against the Greeks of Cyrene c. 570 BC, but no details are recorded of the organization of their rule. In North-West Africa, the existence of 'kings' among the Numidians and Mauri is first directly attested at the end of the fifth century BC, but here again we know nothing of the extent or nature of their rule. By the end of the third century BC, kingdoms of considerable extent and power had emerged among the Mauri, the Masaesylii (with their capital at Siga), and the Massylii (with their capital at Cirta), but their history falls outside the chronological scope of this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

NORTH AFRICA IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS, 323 BC TO AD 305

By the end of the fourth century BC, the two colonizing nations, Greeks and Phoenicians, appeared to be securely established in control of the Mediterranean, and northern Africa was effectively divided between a Greek and a Phoenician state. In the east, the conquests of Alexander had extended Greek colonization and political control over vast new areas, substantially accelerating the process of 'hellenism', the adoption of Greek culture by non-Greek peoples, from which the name conventionally applied to the post-Alexandrine period, the 'Hellenistic' era, is derived. When, on Alexander's death in 323 BC, his empire broke up into several rival kingdoms, control of Egypt was secured by the Macedonian house of Ptolemy, to whose realm the older, more westerly Greek settlements in Cyrenaica were also annexed. In the west, the Phoenician state of Carthage, having survived the invasion of its North African territories by the Greek leader Agathokles in 310-307 BC, had re-established its control over North-West Africa and throughout the western Mediterranean. But these states were quickly to find themselves overshadowed and eventually subjugated by the rising power of Rome. Rome had risen from the position of a minor Italian city-state to the control, by the 270s BC, of all southern Italy. The Romans defeated Carthage in two wars (264-241 and 218-201 BC), after which the Phoenician city was reduced to the status of a client of Rome and ultimately (146 BC) destroyed. They also began to interfere in the east, between the warring Greek states, and imposed their dominance and finally their direct rule. Egypt, from being a friend and ally of Rome in the third century, sank to being its client in the second century, and was finally annexed in 30 BC. By that time, the Romans effectively controlled the entire North African littoral, though their formal rule was not consolidated over the whole area until the annexation of Mauretania (the western Maghrib) in AD 40.

EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY, 323 TO 30 BC

On the premature death of Alexander in 323 BC, his feeble-minded brother Philip III Arrhidaios and his posthumous son Alexander IV

were set up as joint kings of his empire, with a regent to rule in their name. Alexander's principal generals were appointed *satraps* (governors) of the various provinces of his empire, Ptolemy (Ptolemaios) securing appointment as *satrap* of Egypt. At once civil war broke out, as the successive regents and the *satraps* struggled for effective power. The nominal kings were murdered, Philip in 316 and Alexander in 310 BC. One of the generals, Antigonos, seemed for a while to come near to establishing his authority throughout the empire, and proclaimed himself king in 306, but his defeat and death in 301 ended any prospect that the unity of the empire might be maintained. Instead, three principal kingdoms emerged: Egypt, ruled by Ptolemy; Syria (which initially included most of the Asian provinces of Alexander's empire), under Seleukos; and Macedonia, which eventually fell to the descendants of Antigonos.

In the wars which followed Alexander's death, Ptolemy's control of Egypt was seriously threatened only once, when Antigonos attempted an invasion in 306/5, and he ruled until his death in 283. He was succeeded by his son, a second Ptolemy, usually distinguished by the surname Philadelphos (283-247 BC), and he in turn by his son, Ptolemy III Euergetes (247-221 BC). The house of Ptolemy ruled Egypt for almost three centuries, until the Roman annexation in 30 BC, the fourteen kings of the dynasty all bearing the name of Ptolemy.

The realm of the early Ptolemies included a considerable empire outside Egypt. To the west, the Greek cities of Cyrenaica had been annexed by Ptolemy I in 322 BC. To the north-east, across the peninsula of Sinai, the Ptolemies normally controlled the southern portion of Syria, including Palestine and Phoenicia. Control of this area was disputed by the kings of the house of Seleukos, with whom a series of wars were fought during the third century BC. In one of these wars, in 246 BC, Ptolemy III Euergetes invaded the Seleukid kingdom and briefly occupied its capital, Seleukeia on the river Tigris, but effective Ptolemaic control was never established beyond the Lebanon. Egypt was also, under the early Ptolemies, the principal naval power in the eastern Mediterranean, controlling Cyprus, the southern coast of Asia Minor, the Cyclades and other islands in the Aegean, and several towns in the area of the Dardanelles. Ptolemaic naval power in the Aegean was, however, successfully challenged during the third century by Macedonia, at whose hands the Egyptian fleet suffered a crushing defeat off the island of Andros in 245 BC. Control of the Cyclades was

thereby lost, though the Ptolemies still retained their possessions in Asia Minor and the Dardanelles area.

Ptolemy I ruled Egypt originally as *satrap*, but in 305 BC, following the example of Antigonos, he assumed the title of king, and for official purposes numbered his regnal years from the death of Alexander in 323. The Ptolemies in Egypt, in common with the Seleukid kings of Syria and some other Hellenistic rulers, adopted and elaborated notions of divine kingship which had been originally conceived in the entourage of Alexander. When Alexander visited Egypt in 332 BC, he had been greeted by the local priesthood as a son of the Egyptian god Amun-Re', whom the Greeks identified with their own supreme god Zeus. This was, of course, a normal part of the titulary of an Egyptian Pharaoh, but Alexander was deeply impressed, and seems to have become increasingly convinced of his divine paternity. In posthumous portraits on the coins of his successors, Alexander is always represented with the ram's horns of Amun-Re'. Ptolemy I had every interest in encouraging belief in the divinity of Alexander, since he represented himself as the successor to Alexander's kingship. Moreover, in 322 BC Ptolemy had secured possession of Alexander's body, and brought it for burial to Memphis, whence his son Ptolemy II Philadelphos later transferred it to the famous *Sema* (tomb) at Alexandria. At some point, perhaps when he assumed the royal title in 305 BC, Ptolemy I instituted an official cult of Alexander as a god at Alexandria. On Ptolemy's own death in 283, he and his wife Berenice were in turn deified, as the *Theoi Soteres* ('Saviour Gods'). The second Ptolemy and his wife (who was also his sister) Arsinoe went further, proclaiming themselves divine as the *Theoi Adelphoi* ('Brother-and-Sister Gods') during their own lifetime. Thereafter, all the rulers of the Ptolemaic dynasty in turn became gods while still alive. The surnames by which the various Ptolemies are customarily distinguished – Euergetes ('Benefactor'), Philopator ('Father-loving'), etc. – are the cult-names under which they were worshipped. The marriage of the king with his sister, first practised by Ptolemy Philadelphos, also became normal under the later Ptolemies. (Whether this was an imitation of the brother-sister marriages of the earlier native Pharaohs is not clear.)

The official cult of Alexander and the Ptolemies at Alexandria was designed to legitimize the dynasty in the eyes of its Greek subjects. The Hellenistic institution of divine kingship, though in part inspired by the Egyptian example, meant nothing to the native Egyptians. For them, the Ptolemies had to be presented as a new dynasty of Pharaohs. They

are represented on their monuments as wearing the traditional pharaonic regalia, and given the traditional pharaonic titulary in vernacular inscriptions. The Ptolemies also patronized the indigenous religion, making substantial gifts to existing temples and building new temples for the Egyptian gods. The indigenous priesthood was maintained, but its political subservience was secured by royal control of the administration of the temple lands, the king transmitting the revenues from these lands to the temples rather than allowing the priests to exploit them directly. The early Ptolemies, however, do not seem to have felt any pressing need to secure the loyalty of their Egyptian subjects by a systematic exploitation of indigenous political and religious forms.

Outside the priesthood, the Ptolemies abandoned the policy of Alexander of retaining Egyptians in positions of authority (see chapter 2, p. 106). The upper levels of the Egyptian administration under the early Ptolemies were filled entirely by Greeks, and Greek replaced Egyptian as the official language of the Egyptian bureaucracy. At the head of the central bureaucracy, and the most powerful man in Egypt after the king, was an official called the *dioiketes* (manager), always a Greek, who had a general responsibility for the collection and disbursement of the state revenues. At local level, the native *nomarchs*, the hereditary governors of the nomes or provinces of Egypt, who had survived under Persian rule, were now displaced, authority over each nome passing to a Greek official with the title *strategos* (general). The *nomarch* became a minor financial official subordinate to the *strategos*, and seems also to have been normally a Greek. Egyptian officials were probably to be found, certainly in any numbers, only at the lowest level of the administration, in the villages.

The Ptolemaic military system also depended upon Greeks rather than upon Egyptians. The early Ptolemies recruited large numbers of soldiers from Greece and Macedonia. These were granted allotments (*kleroi*) of land, which they cultivated in return for their military service. Tenure of a *kleros* and the obligation of military service which it involved were hereditary. Besides this regular army of hereditary *klerouchoi* (holders of *kleroi*), the Ptolemies commonly hired additional forces of Greek mercenaries on an ad hoc basis. The indigenous military class, the *machimoi* (warriors), who were also hereditary allotment-holders, continued to exist, but were not, under the early Ptolemies, normally employed in actual combat, being restricted to transport and, inside Egypt, police functions. (For the *machimoi*, cf. chapter 2, pp. 89-90.)

To supply the manpower needed for the Ptolemaic system of administration and military organization, a large number of Greeks and Macedonians came to settle in Egypt. This settlement, it should be stressed, had a very different character from that of earlier Greek colonization in Egypt and elsewhere. Traditionally, Greeks had settled in autonomous city-states. In Egypt, this pattern of settlement was represented only by the old city of Naukratis, by Alexander's colony of Alexandria, and by Ptolemais, in Upper Egypt, which was founded by Ptolemy I. The bulk of the Greek settlers in Ptolemaic Egypt, including the military *klerouchoi*, lived dispersed over the country and enjoyed no institutions of civic self-government. They did, however, commonly seek to preserve their national identity, by forming voluntary associations called *politeumata* (literally, 'governments') to regulate their own affairs. An official legal distinction was also maintained between Greek settlers and native Egyptians, the two communities having their own separate systems of civil law and their own judges. It should not be supposed, however, that the Greeks held themselves racially separate from the Egyptians. Inter-marriage, or at least the taking of Egyptian wives by Greek men, was common, and ultimately the distinction between Greeks and Egyptians came to be more a matter of language and culture than of descent.

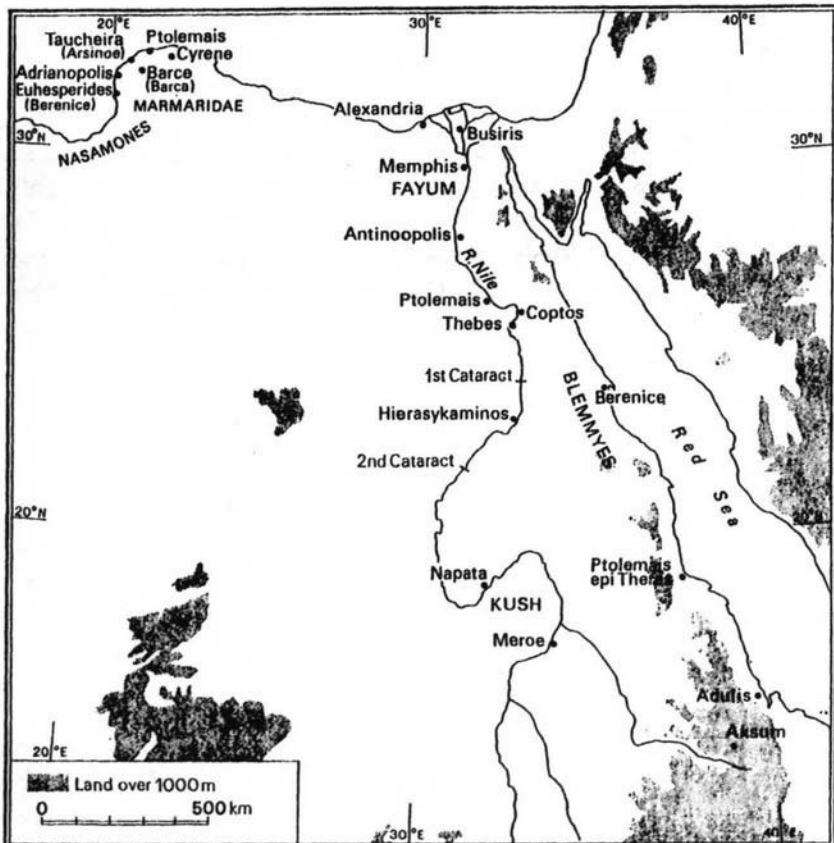
Besides Greeks and Macedonians, foreigners of many other nationalities came to Egypt under the Ptolemies – Thracians and Illyrians from the Balkans, Cilicians and Carians from Asia Minor, and above all, perhaps, Jews. Such foreigners were often recruited, alongside the Greeks and Macedonians, into the Ptolemaic army. They often were, or became through residence in Egypt, Greek-speaking and culturally 'hellenized', but in at least some instances they formed their own national *politeumata* separate from those of the Greeks. The Jews were especially numerous in Alexandria, where they occupied a distinct quarter of the city and formed a partly self-governing community. The Alexandrian Jews came to speak Greek rather than Hebrew, and it was in Ptolemaic Alexandria that the Old Testament was translated into Greek.

Under the Ptolemies Egypt, or rather Alexandria, became a leading centre of Greek culture. The Museum, or Temple of the Muses, established at Alexandria by Ptolemy I, functioned as an association of learned men maintained at royal expense, and attracted philosophers, scientists and poets from all over the Greek world. The Library of Alexandria, also founded by Ptolemy I, built up the largest collection of Greek books (in the form of papyrus rolls) in the world. Besides

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Greeks of culture, Alexandria could boast an occasional Egyptian who had acquired a Greek education and won acceptance in the Greek literary world. The only such of whom anything is known was Manetho, a priest of Heliopolis and a religious adviser to Ptolemy I, who wrote in Greek a compendious history of Egypt, which unfortunately survives only in fragments and inaccurate summaries. It is to Manetho that we owe the conventional division of the kings of Egypt up to the time of Alexander into thirty dynasties.

Despite the position of Alexandria as an international centre of Greek learning and culture, the progress of 'hellenism' among the indigenous population of Ptolemaic Egypt appears to have been minimal. There were, no doubt, many others besides the historian Manetho among the Egyptian priests – the only section of the indigenous élite to survive



23 North-eastern Africa in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

under the Ptolemies – who acquired a knowledge of the Greek language and culture. And at a lower level, many Egyptians outside the priesthood sought advancement by learning Greek, and in some instances by adopting Greek names and becoming, to all intents and purposes, Greeks. But there was no attempt to assimilate culturally the mass of the Egyptian people. The Ptolemies were not, in this context, cultural missionaries, and were content to leave the Egyptians largely to themselves, provided only that they paid their taxes. Indeed, the Greeks in Egypt, far from imposing their culture on the indigenous people, to some extent themselves adopted Egyptian culture. Such assimilation is evident, at least, in the sphere of religion. Many Greeks adopted elements of Egyptian religion, either by assimilating Greek to Egyptian gods or by actually joining local cults. In this connection, a special interest attaches to the cult of Sarapis, in origin apparently Osiris-Apis, the spirit of the deceased Apis-bulls of Memphis (i.e. the bulls which supposedly incarnated the god Apis). The cult of Sarapis had won some popularity among Greeks resident in Egypt even before the time of the Ptolemies, but it was greatly encouraged by Ptolemy I, who, with the co-operation of the Egyptian historian Manetho, instituted an official cult of Sarapis at Alexandria. The Sarapis cult became fairly thoroughly hellenized, the god being represented in the usual Greek manner as a bearded man and commonly identified with Asklepios, the Greek god of healing, but some elements of Egyptian ritual, such as the sacrifice of geese, were retained. Ptolemy I may have intended the Sarapis cult to serve as a bridge between his Greek and Egyptian subjects, by uniting the two communities in a common religious loyalty. But if this was his intention, it came to nothing, for the cult was popular only among the Greeks, especially those of Alexandria.

The Ptolemies took over in Egypt a tradition of heavy taxation and centralized administration of the national economy, which they strengthened in various ways. For example, as has been seen, they tightened royal control over the administration of the temple lands. Royal monopolies of the production and sale of certain commodities, such as textiles, salt and (probably) papyrus rolls, were rigorously enforced. The early Ptolemies did much to develop the Egyptian economy. There was, first, a considerable expansion of the area under cultivation, effected largely by the settlement of Greek and Macedonian soldiers as *kleruchoi* on hitherto unused land. The most dramatic instance of this was the draining of the marshes of the Fayum, carried out under Ptolemy Philadelphos. Settled principally by Greek and Macedonian

klerouchoi, the Fayum area became the 'Arsinoite nome', named in honour of Arsinoe, the wife and sister of Philadelphos. Second, the Ptolemies developed or encouraged the cultivation of new or hitherto unimportant crops. Most notable was the production of wine and vegetable oils (the latter an important royal monopoly), both of which were developed in response to the demand of the vastly increased Greek population in Egypt for the articles to which they had been accustomed in the Greek homeland. Third, existing industries were improved. For example, sheep from Asia Minor were introduced to improve the wool-bearing qualities of the local breed. Transport was improved through the use of camels, which seem to have first become numerous under the early Ptolemies, probably through state initiative. An innovation of the later Ptolemaic period was the use for irrigation of a 'screw' turned in a wooden shaft, said to have been an invention of the Sicilian Greek mathematician Archimedes. Fourth, the Ptolemies effected the belated monetization of the Egyptian economy, a regular coinage in gold, silver and copper being instituted by Ptolemy I. A sophisticated system of banking (also a royal monopoly) was developed.

The early Ptolemies also revived and developed Egypt's traditional commercial contacts with the Red Sea area and with Nubia. Exploration of the Red Sea began under Ptolemy I, one of whose admirals discovered the island of Zebirget, an important source of the precious stone known as chrysolites. Ptolemy Philadelphos sent expeditions to explore both the African and Arabian coasts of the Red Sea. He also recut the old canal between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez,¹ and established an overland route (using camels) between Coptos in Upper Egypt and the port of Berenice on the Red Sea coast. An Egyptian fleet was maintained permanently in the Red Sea to suppress piracy. Philadelphos was principally interested in securing supplies of elephants for military purposes. The use of war-elephants had been introduced from India into the Greek world as a result of Alexander's eastern campaigns, and Philadelphos, finding himself cut off by the rival Seleukid kingdom of Syria from supplies of Indian elephants, determined instead to use African elephants. That the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) was by temperament very much less docile than the Indian elephant (*Elephas maximus*) was not, at first, appreciated. Bases for the hunting of elephants were established along the African coast of the Red Sea, the principal early centre being Ptolemais epi Theras ('Ptolemais at the Hunting-Ground'), near Suakin, which was founded under Philadelphos.

¹ Last renovated by the Persian King Darius (521-486 BC): cf. ch. 2, p. 100.

By the reign of the third Ptolemy, Euergetes, elephant-hunting operations had been extended along the coast as far as the port of Adulis, near Massawa, and before the end of the third century BC Ptolemaic elephant-hunters were active outside the straits of the Bab el-Mandeb, on the coast of what is now Somalia. Besides elephants (and, no doubt, ivory), the Ptolemies also imported frankincense, from southern Arabia, and cinnamon, which came ultimately from southern Asia but could be obtained from Arab traders on the Arabian or Somali coasts. Egyptian traders did not, under the early Ptolemies, themselves penetrate as far as India. Philadelphos is reported to have sent an ambassador to India, presumably by sea, but it is clear that no regular commercial contacts were established. Probably the Sabaeen kingdom of south-western Arabia was strong enough to enforce its monopoly of the supply of Indian products to Egypt.

To the south of Egypt, the Nubian kingdom of Kush, with its capital at Meroe, was still powerful. Philadelphos is recorded to have undertaken an expedition into 'Ethiopia', probably of a commercial rather than a military character. War-elephants were obtained from Ethiopia as well as from the Red Sea coast, and there was probably also trade for Nubian gold and ivory. Certainly, friendly relations were established between the early Ptolemies and the kings of Meroe. Formal Egyptian rule seems not to have been extended above the First Cataract, Lower Nubia being under Meroitic control (see chapter 4, p. 228).

The first three Ptolemies seem all to have been able rulers, but a decline in the quality of the dynasty became evident with the son and successor of Euergetes, Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-205 BC). Philopator was indolent and debauched, and effective power during his reign was exercised by his unscrupulous minister Sosibios, who held, or at least had earlier held, the post of *διοικητης*. The contemporary king of the Seleukid Dynasty, Antiochos III, sought to exploit the opportunity presented by Philopator's inadequacy by making war upon Egypt. He drove the Ptolemaic forces from southern Syria, and threatened to invade Egypt itself. Sosibios, however, gained time by affecting to negotiate with Antiochos, and laboured to build up an army strong enough to resist him. A substantial army was raised, including – an unprecedented move – some 20,000 native Egyptians armed in Greek fashion. A large force of African elephants was also assembled. When fighting again broke out, Antiochos was decisively defeated at the battle of Raphia, in southern Syria (217 BC). The African elephants of

the Ptolemaic army proved useless, fleeing in panic at the approach of the Indian elephants of Antiochos, but victory was secured by the Ptolemaic infantry, the native Egyptians as well as the Greeks fighting bravely. Antiochos was obliged to sue for peace, and Ptolemaic control over southern Syria was restored.

Despite its contribution to the defeat of Antiochos, the use of Egyptian troops at Raphia had unfortunate consequences for the Ptolemies. It stimulated a revival of Egyptian nationalism, since, as a Greek historian observed, the Egyptians,

priding themselves on their victory at Raphia, were no longer disposed to obey orders, but began to look for a leader and figure-head, thinking themselves quite capable of looking after their own interests.¹

An Egyptian revolt broke out soon after the battle of Raphia. It appears to have been confined at first to the Delta, where the rebels for several years held the city of Lycopolis, but subsequently it spread also to Upper Egypt, where two leaders called Harmachis and Anchemachis, possibly Nubians, successively set themselves up as Pharaohs. A vernacular nationalist literature grew up, predicting the arrival of a liberator from the south and the destruction of the Greek city of Alexandria. Revolts by native Egyptians were henceforth a recurrent problem throughout the Ptolemaic period.

In the face of this nationalist opposition, the later Ptolemies set out systematically to conciliate Egyptian national feeling. The influence of the Egyptian priesthood increased, as the Ptolemies ostentatiously increased their patronage of the indigenous religion. In 197 BC, Philopator's son and successor, Ptolemy V Epiphanes, was crowned in a traditional pharaonic ceremony at Memphis, the indigenous capital of Egypt, and his example was followed by all the later Ptolemies. Native Egyptians also began to be employed on a substantial scale in the Ptolemaic armed forces. This, no doubt, was motivated as much by the proof given at Raphia of the worth of Egyptian soldiers as by the need to secure the loyalty of the Egyptian population. The indigenous warrior-class, the *machimoi*, was revived, and many Egyptians were also granted military allotments as *klerouchoi*. The terms *machimoi* and *klerouchoi* ceased to refer to a distinction of nationality, and designated merely soldiers with smaller and larger allotments. Greek and Macedonian allotment-holders came to be called *katoikoi* (settlers), to distinguish them from the new native *klerouchoi*. By the 160s BC, we even begin to

¹ Polybius, *Histories*, v. 107.2-3.

find native Egyptians holding senior military posts, and serving as the *strategoi* of nomes. It would not be inaccurate to speak of the progressive 'Egyptianization' of the Ptolemaic state, but the extent of this process should not be exaggerated. There is, for example, no evidence that any ruler of the Ptolemaic Dynasty before the last, the famous queen Cleopatra (51-30 BC), even spoke the Egyptian language.

When Ptolemy Philopator died in 205 BC, his son Ptolemy V Epiphanes was still only a child, and there followed a period of political confusion, as successive regents and their principal generals and ministers struggled for power. The Greek populace of Alexandria took a hand in these disturbances, on more than one occasion lynching unpopular ministers. The struggle for power persisted even after the premature coronation of Ptolemy Epiphanes, at the age of only twelve, in 197 BC. But despite this political instability at the capital, the ministers of Epiphanes were able to stamp out the native Egyptian revolt which had broken out under Philopator. Lycopolis, the principal rebel stronghold in the Delta, was taken in 197 BC, though the rebellion in Lower Egypt was not finally crushed until 184/3. In Upper Egypt, Ptolemaic control was restored by 187/6. As part of an administrative reorganization following the end of the rebellion, the *strategos* of the nome of Thebes was made *epistrategos* (over-general) or viceroy of the whole of Upper Egypt. The friendly relations which the earlier Ptolemies had maintained with the kings of Meroe were now broken, perhaps because the Meroitic kings had supported the revolt in Upper Egypt, and Ptolemaic troops appear to have occupied lower Nubia as far as the Second Cataract. The Ptolemies thereby secured control of the gold-mines of Lower Nubia, which they worked under a system of immense cruelty, using the labour of prisoners of war.

Though order was thus eventually restored inside Egypt, the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes brought disaster in external affairs. In 202 BC Antiochos III of Syria and Philip V of Macedonia, taking advantage of the confusion inside Egypt which followed the accession of Epiphanes, formed an alliance to attack the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt. Antiochos proceeded to overrun southern Syria, while Philip attacked and conquered the Ptolemaic dependencies in the Dardanelles area and on the coast of Asia Minor. In this extremity, the government of Epiphanes sought to invoke the support of the rising power of Rome. The Greek world had first been forced to take account of Roman power when Rome emerged victorious from its war with the Greek king, Pyrrhos of Epeiros, in 280-274 BC. The then King of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphos,

saw the significance of this event, and is said to have negotiated a commercial treaty with Rome in 273 BC. Subsequently, during the second war between Carthage and Rome, in 218–201 BC, while Philip V of Macedonia took the side of Carthage, Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt supplied corn to the Romans. It was therefore with some confidence in Roman goodwill that the ministers of Epiphanes, in 200 BC, appealed to Rome for protection against Syrian and Macedonian aggression. The Romans did, in fact, in response to this and other appeals, proceed to intervene in the east, and fought victorious wars against Philip V of Macedonia in 200–196 and against Antiochos III of Syria in 192–188. But Egypt derived no benefit from this, since its rulers had been unwise enough to come to terms with Antiochos prematurely, probably in 196 BC. Under the settlement, the loss of southern Syria to the Seleukid kingdom was recognized. The Ptolemaic kingdom thus lost all its foreign possessions, except Cyprus and Cyrenaica.

Ptolemy Epiphanes died prematurely in 181 or 180 BC, leaving the kingdom once more to a minor, his son Ptolemy VI Philometor. Effective power was again exercised by a succession of regents. In 170 BC, Philometor's ministers foolishly declared war on the Seleukid kingdom, in an attempt to recover possession of southern Syria. The Seleukid king, Antiochos IV, routed the Ptolemaic forces in southern Syria, and in 169 BC invaded Egypt itself, where he gained control of Memphis and captured Philometor. Alexandria, however, defied Antiochos, and set up Philometor's younger brother, Ptolemy VII Euergetes II, as king in his place. Antiochos withdrew from Egypt, after installing Philometor as king at Memphis in opposition to Euergetes, presumably hoping that rivalry between the two brothers would keep Egypt distracted and weak. But in his absence Philometor and his brother were reconciled, and the two were installed as joint kings at Alexandria. In 168 BC Antiochos returned to Egypt, and this time had himself crowned as King of Egypt in a pharaonic ceremony at Memphis. Antiochos seemed likely to make good his claim to rule Egypt, but the Ptolemaic dynasty was preserved through the intervention of Rome. The Romans, evidently fearing that the threatened union of Egypt and Syria would create a power strong enough to defy them, sent an embassy to order Antiochos to withdraw from Egypt, and Antiochos felt obliged to comply.

The joint rule of Philometor and Euergetes II after 168 BC was disturbed by a recrudescence of native Egyptian revolts, and by continued rivalry between the two kings. Euergetes at first enjoyed greater

support, and in 163 he was able to expel Philometor from Alexandria. Philometor then appealed to Rome, and the Romans, seeing an opportunity to weaken further Ptolemaic power, decided that the kingdom should be divided, assigning Egypt and Cyprus to Philometor and Cyrenaica to Euergetes. During the later years of Philometor's reign, however, the Ptolemaic kingdom for the last time presented the appearance of a great power. The Seleukid kingdom was disintegrating in civil war, and Philometor was able to interfere in its troubles, allying in turn with various claimants to the Seleukid throne. In 145 BC, in the course of these campaigns, he entered Antioch, the western capital of the Seleukid kingdom, and was offered the Seleukid throne by its inhabitants. But he declined the offer, possibly fearing the disapproval of Rome, and contented himself with a promise of the retrocession of southern Syria to Egypt. However, though he was victorious in battle, Philometor was fatally wounded. With his death (145 BC), his army dissolved, and the Ptolemaic claim to southern Syria was again forgotten.

On the death of Philometor, his brother Ptolemy VII Euergetes II was able to return from Cyrenaica to assume the Egyptian throne. Euergetes, more commonly known by the nickname 'Physcon' ('Pot-Belly'), is unanimously represented in the sources as a monster of cruelty, whose reign was stained by many crimes. He was hated by the Greeks of Alexandria, who frequently clashed with his soldiers, and especially by the learned men of the Museum, many of whom he persecuted and drove out of Egypt. While it is clear that Euergetes was ruthless and unscrupulous, the received picture of him is certainly overdrawn. It is likely that his unpopularity with the Greeks of Egypt was at least in part due to his deliberate policy of favouring the native Egyptians. He seems to have been especially active in building and adorning temples for the indigenous gods of Egypt, and even appointed a native Egyptian, Paos by name, to be *epistrategos* of Upper Egypt.

However this may be, the reign of Euergetes II was catastrophic for Egypt, since it brought a protracted period of civil war. During the 130s BC, Euergetes quarrelled with his wife and sister Cleopatra (II), and several years of fierce fighting between their supporters ensued. Although Euergetes and Cleopatra were eventually reconciled in 124, this did not put an end to the disorders, since the breakdown of central authority during the civil wars had encouraged independent banditry in many areas. A decree of Euergetes in 118 BC, intended to restore the situation, vividly illustrates this breakdown of order: it provides for an

amnesty for offenders, the remission of arrears of taxes and the confirmation of the tenures of those who had irregularly come into possession of allotments of land, and enacted measures to check extortion by tax-collectors and to protect the native Egyptian system of civil law against encroachment by Greek officials. How far this decree was effective in curing the abuses to which it refers is uncertain.

The death of Euergetes II in 116 BC brought a further diminution of the territorial extent of the Ptolemaic kingdom. By his will, he bequeathed Cyrenaica to his illegitimate son, Ptolemy Apion. Under Apion, Cyrenaica became effectively independent of Egypt, and after his death in 96 BC it was brought under Roman rule. In Egypt, Euergetes was succeeded by one of his legitimate sons, Ptolemy VIII Soter II (better known by his nickname, 'Lathyros' or 'Chick-Pea'). Dynastic troubles continued to plague the kingdom, and in 108/7 BC Soter II was overthrown in favour of his younger brother, who became king as Ptolemy IX Alexander. Soter II, however, escaped from Egypt, and seized control of Cyprus, the only remaining Ptolemaic dependency outside Egypt. Ptolemy Alexander in turn was overthrown and killed in a rising of the populace of Alexandria in 88 BC. Ptolemy Soter II was then able to return from Cyprus to recover the Egyptian throne. His second reign was marked by another serious native revolt in Upper Egypt, which centred upon Thebes. This revolt was brought to an end, with a destructive sack of Thebes, in 85 BC.

Ptolemy Soter II died without legitimate male issue in 80 BC. A son of Ptolemy Alexander, having secured the backing of Rome, arrived in Egypt to claim the throne, becoming king as Ptolemy Alexander II. But the new king reigned only for three weeks before he was lynched by the Alexandrian mob. With him ended the legitimate line of the Ptolemaic dynasty. There were, however, two illegitimate sons of Soter II, one of whom was made king as Ptolemy XI Philopator II (more commonly known by his nickname, 'Auletes' or 'The Flute-Player'), while the other became ruler of Cyprus.

The reign of Ptolemy XI was dominated by the threat of a Roman annexation of Egypt. The succession crisis of 80 BC had put in question the formal independence of Egypt, since Ptolemy Alexander II had allegedly left a will by which he bequeathed Egypt to Rome. The authenticity of this document was questionable, but this would not deter the Romans from basing a claim to authority over Egypt upon it. There was, in fact, an abortive proposal at Rome to annex Egypt in 65 BC. Ptolemy XI was therefore concerned above all to win the

recognition and support of Rome. When the Romans annexed the rump of the Seleukid kingdom in Syria in 63 BC, Ptolemy sent forces to their assistance, an action which was very unpopular with the Greeks of Alexandria. Finally, by lavish bribes to Roman politicians, Ptolemy secured formal recognition as the legitimate king of Egypt in 59 BC. To pay for these bribes, however, he was obliged to impose additional taxation in Egypt, which made him still more unpopular. Popular resentment at Alexandria was further exacerbated when the Romans annexed Cyprus, the last Ptolemaic dependency outside Egypt, in 58 BC. Ptolemy sought safety in flight, and made his way to Rome, where he borrowed large sums of money with which to offer further bribes in return for Roman support. He was ultimately reinstated in Egypt by the Roman governor of Syria, who left a substantial force of Roman soldiers in the country in 55 BC to secure him in power. In order to repay the debts which he had contracted while in exile, Ptolemy had recourse to further financial exactions, and appointed a certain Rabirius, a Roman financier who was his principal creditor, as *dioiketes* to administer the collection of the taxes. Rabirius, however, was soon driven out of Alexandria by a popular rising.

When Ptolemy XI died in 51 BC, his daughter, Cleopatra VII, the famous Cleopatra, succeeded to the throne, with the elder of her two younger brothers (Ptolemy XII) as co-ruler. However, war soon broke out between Cleopatra and her brother, and there were apparently also risings among the native Egyptians. At this point, Egypt became implicated in the Roman civil war, between the partisans of Caesar and Pompey, which broke out in 49 BC. The ministers of Ptolemy XII at first supported Pompey, to whom they sent forces, but after Caesar's defeat of Pompey in Greece, when Pompey sought refuge in Egypt, they attempted to retrieve this error of judgement by murdering him. Caesar, arriving in Egypt in pursuit of Pompey, was not gratified by this service, and proceeded to provoke a popular rising in Alexandria by his arrogant conduct. During the winter of 48/7 BC, he was besieged in the royal palace at Alexandria. Ptolemy XII eventually associated himself with the besieging forces, while Cleopatra made her way to the palace to join Caesar, and indeed became his mistress. The arrival of reinforcements in 47 BC enabled Caesar to crush the rising, and to reinstate Cleopatra as the ruler of Egypt. Ptolemy XII having been killed in the fighting, her other brother (Ptolemy XIII) was associated with her on the throne. Caesar appears also to have restored possession of Cyprus to Cleopatra.

After the assassination of Caesar at Rome in 44 BC, Cleopatra secured her position inside Egypt by murdering her brother, and taking as co-ruler in his place her own son (so she claimed) by Caesar, Ptolemy XIV Caesarion. Her position was further strengthened when she became the mistress of the principal successor to Caesar's power, Mark Antony, in 41 BC. From Antony, Cleopatra demanded and obtained additional territorial concessions, being ultimately promised Cyrenaica, Cilicia in Asia Minor, Syria and other territories (as yet unconquered by Rome) further east. It might have appeared that the greatness of the Ptolemaic kingdom had been restored. But all this came to nothing when Antony was defeated by his rival, Caesar's adoptive son Caesar Octavian (the later Augustus), in Greece in 31 BC. Antony and Cleopatra retreated to Egypt, where they both committed suicide. Cleopatra's son and co-ruler, Ptolemy Caesarion, was put to death by Octavian, and Egypt finally became a province of the Roman empire (30 BC).

The decline of Egypt under the later Ptolemies was measured not only by the loss of its external dependencies, and ultimately of its own independence: the period also brought an economic decline. During the second and first centuries BC, there was considerable economic distress among Egyptian cultivators. The rural population declined, and Ptolemaic officials had difficulty in maintaining land under cultivation. This was no doubt due in part to the frequent civil wars and other disturbances of the period. Apart from the physical destruction and loss of life which these involved, the collapse of effective central authority led to the neglect and decay of essential irrigation works. But it appears that the unrest, and the fall in population, in the rural areas was also due to increasing poverty, the result of high rates of taxation, which were maintained inflexibly even during years of poor harvests, and exaggerated by the irregular extortions of dishonest officials. Rural distress was exacerbated by the difficulties of operating the Ptolemaic trimetallic currency. In the second century BC, owing to a shortage of silver, the ratio at which copper coins were exchanged for silver coins deteriorated substantially: for the poorer classes, who normally used only the copper coins, this amounted to a catastrophic inflation. These economic troubles no doubt contributed to the recurrent nationalist uprisings.

There was, however, at least one area in which the rule of the later Ptolemies was a period not of decline, but of development – namely, the Red Sea trade of Egypt (see also chapter 4, pp. 244–5). The failure of the African elephants in the Ptolemaic army at Raphia in 217 BC

(cf. pp. 156–7) did not immediately lead the Ptolemies to despair of the military capabilities of these animals, and elephants continued to be sought along the African coast of the Red Sea for many years. As late as 145 BC, the army with which Ptolemy Philometor invaded Syria is said to have included an elephant contingent. Thereafter, however, the Ptolemies appear to have abandoned their interest in war-elephants. The Red Sea did not thereby decline in importance, for the former elephant-hunting stations on the African coast of the Red Sea, especially Adulis, continued to be important as bases for trade in ivory, rhinoceros horns and tortoise-shells. The trade with Arabia and India in incense and spices also became increasingly important, and Greeks for the first time began to trade directly with India. The discovery, or rediscovery, of the sea-route to India is attributed to a certain Eudoxos, who was sent out for this purpose towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II (died 116 BC). Eudoxos made two voyages to India, and subsequently, having quarrelled with his Ptolemaic employers, perished in an unsuccessful attempt to open up an alternative sea-route to India, free of Ptolemaic control, by sailing around Africa.¹ The establishment of direct contacts between Egypt and India was probably made possible by a weakening of Arab power at this period, for the Sabaeen kingdom of south-western Arabia collapsed and was replaced by the Himyarite kingdom around 115 BC. Imports into Egypt of cinnamon and other eastern spices, such as pepper, increased substantially, though the Indian Ocean trade remained for the moment on quite a small scale, no more than twenty Egyptian ships venturing outside the Red Sea each year. On his second expedition, Eudoxos, blown off course on the return voyage from India, also discovered the East African coast to the south of Cape Guardafui, but it is not clear how soon Egyptian Greeks developed a regular trade with this area.

CYRENAICA UNDER PTOLEMAIC RULE

The Greek settlements in Cyrenaica – Cyrene, Barce (Barca), Euhesperides, and their dependencies – were subject to the Ptolemies throughout almost the whole period of their rule in Egypt. It has been seen in the preceding chapter how in 322 BC Ptolemy I intervened in the internal disputes of the cities of Cyrenaica and established his control over them (see chapter 2, p. 114). An extant inscription from Cyrene appears to record the arrangements made by Ptolemy for the govern-

¹ For the attempted circumnavigation of Africa by Eudoxos, see ch. 2, p. 139.

ment of that city on this occasion. The Cyrenaean exiles who had called in Ptolemy's assistance were restored, and an ostensibly republican regime established. But Ptolemy was not prepared to allow Cyrene more than a pretence of internal autonomy, and the detailed constitutional regulations include provisions for the nomination of the Cyrenaean senate by Ptolemy and for the appointment of Ptolemy as one of the five generals (*strategoi*) of the Cyrenaean army. The inscription makes no reference to the garrison of troops which Ptolemy is known to have left in Cyrene, nor to Ptolemy's general Ophellas, who remained in the city in some capacity, presumably as commander of this garrison, and in fact became the real ruler. The Cyrenaeans were not easily reconciled to the loss of their real independence. In 312 BC there was a rising at Cyrene, and Ptolemy's garrison was besieged in the citadel of the town, but Ptolemy sent reinforcements to suppress the revolt. Shortly after this, Ophellas appears to have joined forces with the Cyrenaean nationalists, and declared himself independent of Ptolemy. However, the rule of Ophellas at Cyrene came to an end when in 308 BC he marched west to join Agathokles of Syracuse in his attack on Carthage, only to be treacherously murdered by Agathokles (cf. chapter 2, p. 123). Ptolemy was then able to reassert his control over Cyrene, appointing his own stepson Magas as its governor.

Magas ruled Cyrene as a Ptolemaic vassal for over thirty years, but in 274 BC, following the example of Ophellas, he took advantage of the embroilment of Ptolemy II Philadelphos in a war with Syria to declare himself an independent king. Magas even set out to invade Egypt, but had to turn back to Cyrene when the local Libyans, the Marmaridai, rose in revolt in his rear. Despite the failure of his offensive ambitions, however, Magas remained independent at Cyrene, which he ruled until his death in 259/8 BC. Before his death, he became reconciled to Ptolemy Philadelphos, and arranged for the eventual reunion of Cyrene to Egypt by betrothing his daughter Berenice to Ptolemy's son, the later Ptolemy III Euergetes. There was opposition to this policy in Cyrene, and the death of Magas was followed by a further period of internal strife. Berenice was apparently driven out of Cyrene, and a republican regime again established, under the guidance of two revolutionary agitators from mainland Greece, Ekdemos and Megalophanes, students of the Platonic Academy at Athens. But the republic was quickly suppressed, probably before the death of Ptolemy Philadelphos (247 BC), and Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenice seem to have maintained their control over Cyrenaica without difficulty. It was probably on the

occasion of this reconquest that, in token of their subjection to the Ptolemies, the lesser cities of Cyrenaica were renamed after members of the Egyptian royal family. The port of Barce, whose original name is not known, and which had by now become more important than Barce itself, was renamed Ptolemais (whence its modern name, Tolmeta), Euhesperides became Berenice (whence Benghazi), and Taucheira became Arsinoe.

Cyrenaica was now firmly attached to the Ptolemaic realm, and was governed by a viceroy, entitled the *Libyarches* (Governor of Libya), sent out from Egypt. Cyrenaean Greeks were prominent in Egypt, providing some noted members of the Museum of Alexandria, and Cyrenaean forces (Greek and Libyan) served with the Ptolemaic army. Cyrenaica was again separated from Egypt by the decision of the Romans, who, as related above, resolved the dispute between Ptolemy VI Philometor and his brother Ptolemy VII Euergetes II in 163 BC by granting the latter an independent realm in Cyrenaica. The Cyrenaeans themselves, however, were reluctant to accept this decision, fearing the cruelty and tyrannical character of Euergetes. In 162 BC, when Euergetes went on a mission to Rome, leaving Cyrene under the control of an Egyptian general, Ptolemy Sympetesis, the Cyrenaeans rose in revolt, and were joined not only by the local Libyans but also by Sympetesis himself. However, Euergetes returned and was able, with great difficulty, to restore his control over Cyrene. He continued to rule there until the death of his brother Philometor in 145 BC, when he returned to Egypt to take the throne, thus reuniting Cyrenaica once again to Egypt.

The final separation of Cyrenaica from Egypt came, as has been seen, with the death of Euergetes II in 116 BC. By his will, Euergetes bequeathed Cyrenaica to his illegitimate son Ptolemy Apion. Apion ruled Cyrenaica for twenty years, and died without heirs in 96 BC, leaving a will by which he bequeathed his kingdom to the people of Rome. The Romans, however, had no desire to undertake responsibility for the administration of Cyrenaica, and contented themselves with sending agents to take over ownership of the royal estates there, restoring self-government to the Greek cities. Left to themselves, the Greeks of Cyrenaica displayed their usual capacity for misgovernment and civil strife. A leader called Nikokrates seized power in Cyrene, which he ruled tyrannically until assassinated by his own brother, Leandros, whose rule was no improvement. The political opponents of Leandros brought about his downfall by stirring up a war of the local Libyans against him, and then treacherously delivering him up to the

THE FALL OF CARTHAGE

chief of the Libyans. In 87 BC a Roman general, arriving to seek military assistance for a war in Greece, restored order, and, at the request of the Cyrenaeans, enacted constitutional reforms. Whether this put an end to the disturbances is not recorded. The Romans finally decided to annex Cyrenaica, probably to prevent its use as a base by pirates, in 74 BC.

THE FALL OF CARTHAGE, 264 TO 146 BC

In North-West Africa, the Phoenician city of Carthage had, by the early third century BC, survived more than a century of warfare with the Greeks of Sicily without lasting loss to its power or to the territorial extent of its empire. Carthage had been most seriously threatened during its war with Agathokles of Syracuse, who in 310–307 BC had invaded the North African territory of Carthage, raising a revolt of its Libyan subjects and securing assistance from the independent Numidians to the west. But after the defeat and withdrawal of Agathokles, Carthaginian authority was re-established in the hinterland. In 276–275 BC the Carthaginians faced a final war with the Sicilian Greeks, who called in Pyrrhos of Epeiros, then campaigning against the Romans in southern Italy, to their aid. Pyrrhos won some initial successes, and contemplated emulating Agathokles by invading North-West Africa, but he failed to win a decisive victory and soon withdrew again to Italy, whence he was finally expelled by the Romans in 274 BC. The Carthaginians not only survived the war against Pyrrhos, but benefited from it, learning from him innovations in the military art which considerably strengthened the effectiveness of their armies. Pyrrhos had brought with him from Greece some Indian war-elephants, which he used to great effect in Italy and Sicily. The Carthaginians were impressed, and set about creating their own force of war-elephants, using, like the Ptolemies in Egypt, the locally available African elephants. The Carthaginians probably also owed to the example of Pyrrhos their more intelligent and systematic use of cavalry, employing local Numidian auxiliaries, in the later third century BC.

However, the defeat of Pyrrhos had other consequences which threatened the security of the Carthaginian empire. It allowed the Romans to consolidate their control over southern Italy, a process completed with their capture of the city of Tarentum (Taranto) in 272 BC. The Carthaginians in Sicily now found that they had to take account not only of the independent Greek cities of the island, but also

of the expansionist power of Rome across the straits of Messina. In earlier times, relations between Carthage and Rome seem always to have been friendly, and the two states had co-operated against their common enemy Pyrrhos. But now the Romans sought to extend their influence into Sicily, threatening Carthaginian interests. In 264 BC rivalry between the two states for control of the strategic city of Messina (Messina) led to open war.

The first war between Carthage and Rome lasted for twenty-three years (264–241 BC), and ended in the total defeat of Carthage. The war was principally a contest for the control of Sicily, which the Romans progressively wrested from the Carthaginians. Messina, the object of the original dispute, was quickly secured by the Romans. The two principal Greek cities in Sicily, Syracuse and Akragas, began the war as allies of Carthage, but Syracuse defected to the Roman side in 263 BC and Akragas was taken by the Romans in 262. The Carthaginian forces were gradually restricted to the western portion of Sicily, the part of the island originally colonized by the Phoenicians.

The Romans also resolved to challenge Carthaginian domination of the sea, and in 261 BC began the construction of a large war fleet. Somewhat surprisingly, in view of the much greater experience and expertise of the Carthaginians in naval warfare, the Roman fleet was quickly successful. A naval victory in 256 BC enabled the Romans to repeat the venture of Agathokles, by sending a large army, commanded by a general called Regulus, to invade North-West Africa. Regulus landed on the Cape Bon peninsula, where he plundered the estates of the rich citizens of Carthage, and proceeded to defeat a Carthaginian army in battle and seize control of the town of Tunis, from which he could blockade Carthage by land. The Carthaginians were sufficiently alarmed to offer peace, but Regulus threw away this opportunity by insisting upon excessively harsh terms. Negotiation having failed, the Carthaginians turned again to war, and in 255 BC, giving battle in open terrain where their war-elephants and cavalry could be used to the greatest effect, they inflicted a decisive defeat on the Romans, taking Regulus captive. The threat to the Carthaginian capital was thus for the moment ended.

Despite the failure of this invasion of North Africa, the Romans continued to drive back the Carthaginians in Sicily, and in 250 BC succeeded in capturing the Phoenician city of Panormus (Palermo). But the city of Lilybaeum, at the extreme western end of Sicily, was held by

the Carthaginians despite a prolonged Roman siege. The defence of Lilybaeum was conducted, after 247 BC, by Hamilcar Barca, a brilliant general whose family was to dominate Carthaginian politics for the rest of the third century BC.

In addition to these operations in Sicily, Carthage was involved at this time in difficulties in her African territories. It is recorded that in 256/5 BC, during the campaign of Regulus in Africa, Carthaginian territory was also under attack by the Numidians, the Libyan peoples to the west who were normally allied to Carthage. Later, probably around 247 BC, a large Carthaginian army, commanded by a general called Hanno, operated in the interior, and captured the town of Theveste (Tebessa), about 260 km south-west of Carthage. It is surprising that the Carthaginians should have been prepared to commit substantial forces so far inland at the same time as they were engaged with the Romans in Sicily. Unfortunately, the circumstances leading to Hanno's operations are not recorded. But Hanno is known to have been a personal enemy of Hamilcar Barca, the Carthaginian commander in Sicily, and it is possible that internal political differences were involved. Hanno may have advocated that Carthage should concentrate upon the extension of its territorial empire in Africa, while Hamilcar Barca perhaps stood for maritime expansion in the Mediterranean. The suggestion that Hanno's policy was that of the 'great landowners' of Carthage, while Hamilcar Barca represented the commercial interests, is very much more speculative.¹

By the late 240s BC, Carthage appeared to have fought the Romans to a stalemate in Sicily, but the fundamental strength of the empire was being progressively eroded. Since Carthage depended primarily upon mercenary troops, who had to be paid regular and substantial wages, the protracted war was a ruinous drain upon its financial resources. The position cannot have been helped by the simultaneous commitment of large forces for Hanno's campaigns in Africa. To meet the costs of the war, the Carthaginians doubled the level of taxation imposed upon their subjects in Africa; but even so the revenues were inadequate. In the late 240s the Carthaginians appear, as a measure of economy, to have laid up their fleet. In 242 BC the Romans exploited the opportunity thus presented to them by putting to sea a large naval force. A hastily mustered Carthaginian fleet was defeated off Sicily, and the Carthagin-

¹ For this view, see T. Frank, 'Rome and Carthage: the first Punic War', in S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock and M. P. Charlesworth, eds., *Cambridge ancient history*, vii (Cambridge, 1928), 665-6, 689.

ians, faced with the prospect of a second Roman invasion of North-West Africa, felt obliged to sue for peace. Under the terms eventually agreed in 241 BC, Carthage evacuated its forces from Sicily and undertook to pay a large indemnity to Rome in annual instalments over twenty years.

The loss of Sicily was followed by a crisis in Africa. Following the peace, the Carthaginian authorities attempted to disband the large army of mercenaries which had been employed in Sicily. This consisted mainly of Libyans from the territory subject to Carthage, but also included many Greeks, Italians and other nationalities. Substantial arrears of wages were due to the soldiers, and it was not clear that money was available to meet their demands. Mustered at Sicca in the interior to await payment, the soldiers mutinied, led by a Libyan called Mathos and an Italian called Spendios. This was followed by a general revolt of the Libyan subjects of Carthage, resentful at the heavy taxation which had been imposed upon them during the war. The Numidians to the west of Carthaginian territory also joined the revolt, and the rebel forces laid siege to the Phoenician cities of Hippo (Bizerta) and Utica. Hanno and Hamilcar Barca, laying aside their personal and political differences, laboured to bring the revolt under control, and were greatly assisted by the defection to the Carthaginian side of a Numidian chief called Naravas, who brought with him essential cavalry forces. The Carthaginians suffered a serious setback in 239 BC, when the cities of Hippo and Utica joined the revolt and massacred their Carthaginian garrisons. But by 237 BC, after a war of appalling atrocities on both sides, the revolt had been completely crushed.

Though successful in restoring their control in North-West Africa, the Carthaginians suffered a further territorial loss outside Africa. Under the terms of the peace of 241 BC, Carthage had retained possession of the island of Sardinia. But during the revolt in Africa which followed the peace, the mercenary forces forming the Carthaginian garrison in Sardinia also mutinied, and the Carthaginians lost control of the island. When it became clear that the revolt in Africa had failed, the rebels in Sardinia appealed for protection to Rome, and the Romans, after some hesitations, sent forces to annex the island (238 BC). Carthaginian protests were met with a threat of war, and the Carthaginians were obliged to acquiesce.

The Roman annexation of Sardinia ended any prospect of a lasting reconciliation between Carthage and Rome. When the revolt in Africa had been suppressed, Hanno, who had shared the command with

Hamilcar Barca, was ousted from office, leaving Hamilcar in power (237 BC). This is represented in the sources as a victory for the popular and democratic forces in Carthage against the wealthier citizens, though it does not appear that it was accompanied by any specific reforms to the constitution. The victory of Hamilcar Barca over Hanno also reflected the determination of Carthaginians to build up their power in preparation for a second war with Rome, for Hanno was an advocate of friendship with Rome and an opponent of Carthaginian expansion outside Africa.

After the loss of Sicily and Sardinia, the only remnant of the Carthaginian empire outside Africa was in Spain, where the Carthaginians still controlled, or at least claimed, Gades and the other Phoenician colonies along the southern coast. Here the Carthaginians determined to win a new overseas empire. Hamilcar Barca was sent to Spain in 237 BC, and campaigned there until his death in battle in 229 BC. The command in Spain then passed to Hamilcar Barca's son-in-law Hasdrubal, and, after Hasdrubal's death in 221 BC, to Hamilcar's son Hannibal. These three extended Carthaginian control for the first time beyond the coastal area, annexing a large territory in the Spanish hinterland. They thereby won for Carthage considerable resources of manpower from subject and allied Spanish tribes for service in the Carthaginian army, and control of the extremely valuable Spanish silver-mines. A new capital for this Spanish empire, New Carthage (Cartagena), was built by Hasdrubal.

There was also some consolidation and extension of the Carthaginian empire inside North-West Africa, but this process is poorly documented and impossible to trace in detail. Before departing to Spain, Hamilcar Barca is said to have campaigned against the Numidians, probably in response to the assistance which they had afforded to the recent Libyan revolt, and to have extended the boundaries of Carthaginian territory. Subsequently, at some point before the death of Hamilcar in 229 BC, there was further trouble with the Numidians, and Hamilcar's son-in-law Hasdrubal fought successfully against them, further expanding the area tributary to Carthage.

The Romans viewed the recovery of Carthaginian power with apprehension, and in 226 BC sought and obtained from Hasdrubal an undertaking that Carthaginian forces would not operate beyond the river Ebro in northern Spain. Subsequently, however, the Romans violated the spirit, if not the letter, of this agreement by themselves forming an alliance with the town of Saguntum to the south of the

Ebro. When he felt that he was ready, Hannibal provoked a Roman declaration of war by attacking and destroying Saguntum (218 BC). Carthaginian strategy in this second war with Rome sought victory by a direct attack on Rome's position inside Italy. There was no attempt to revive Carthaginian naval power and recover the command of the sea lost to Rome in the previous war. Leaving Spain under the command of his brother Hasdrubal, Hannibal marched overland through southern France and across the Alps to invade Italy from the north. In Italy, he won a series of victories, culminating in the crushing defeat of the Romans at Cannae (216 BC). But Rome refused to consider surrender, and Hannibal's expectations of defections among Rome's allies and subjects in Italy were only partially fulfilled. Hannibal's failure became clear beyond doubt when, in 207 BC, his brother Hasdrubal brought reinforcements from Spain but was defeated and killed at the river Metaurus in northern Italy before he could join forces with Hannibal. Though undefeated in any major battle, Hannibal found that his effective power steadily declined, and he was compelled to withdraw into the southernmost portion of Italy.

Meanwhile, the Romans had, as early as 218 BC, sent forces to challenge the Carthaginian position in Spain. For several years they achieved no decisive success, though their presence prevented the departure of forces from Spain to reinforce Hannibal in Italy. But after 210 BC, under the brilliant generalship of Scipio, the Romans rapidly swept away Carthaginian power in Spain, taking New Carthage in 209 BC and Gades in 206 BC. A Carthaginian attempt to recover control of Sicily in 214–211 BC, though it had the support of many of the Greeks in the island, also ended in failure.

During the second war with Rome, as in the first, the Carthaginian war effort was hampered by difficulties inside Africa. In 215 BC war broke out with Syphax, the powerful ruler of the Masaesylii, a western Numidian tribe. The Roman commanders in Spain sent military advisers to assist Syphax, and the Carthaginians had to recall Hasdrubal from Spain to undertake the command against him. Although the Carthaginians were assisted by the Massylii, a rival Numidian tribe, they were unable to inflict a decisive defeat upon Syphax, and a peace negotiated in 212 BC left him in possession of his territory. Subsequently Syphax intrigued with both Rome and Carthage, but was eventually won over to a firm alliance with Carthage.

In 204 BC Scipio, the conqueror of the Carthaginians in Spain, landed with a large Roman army in North Africa. Syphax brought forces to

the assistance of Carthage, but Scipio secured the alliance of Masinissa, the rival ruler of the Massyliæ, and was able to defeat the Carthaginians in two major battles (203 BC). Roman forces then invaded Numidia, in co-operation with Masinissa, and defeated and captured Syphax, thus depriving Carthage of the support of any substantial body of Numidian cavalry. The Carthaginians recalled Hannibal from Italy to take command against Scipio, and a final battle was fought at Naraggara, near Zama, in 202 BC. Owing principally to his weakness in cavalry, Hannibal was decisively defeated. In a similar situation a century before, during the invasion of Agathokles, Carthage had been able to survive defeat in Africa, since the city could be supplied with provisions by sea. But now the sea also was controlled by the enemy, and the Carthaginians had no alternative to surrender.

By the terms of peace imposed in 201 BC, Carthage not only lost her second empire, but was reduced, in effect, to the status of a Roman dependency. The Carthaginians gave up all claim to Spain, and also lost extensive territories inside Africa. They were compelled to evacuate all the areas which they held in Africa outside the 'Phœnician Trenches', the system of earthworks constructed to delimit Carthaginian territory at an earlier period (cf. chapter 2, p. 129), and undertook to restore to Rome's ally Masinissa all the lands which had at any time belonged to him or his ancestors, even if these lay within the 'Trenches'. Carthage was disarmed, being compelled to surrender its entire force of war-elephants and forbidden to train elephants in the future, and having the size of its war fleet restricted to ten ships. Moreover, Carthage was forbidden to wage war outside Africa, or inside Africa except with the permission of Rome, and was obliged to supply whatever assistance Rome demanded in its own wars. A large indemnity was imposed, to be paid in annual instalments over fifty years.

The catastrophic defeat of Carthage in its second war with Rome was followed by a political and financial crisis. The political opponents of Hannibal seized the opportunity to drive him from power at Carthage. In 200 BC, following pressure from Rome, Hannibal was dismissed from command of the Carthaginian army in Africa, and brought to trial for peculation. However, the court acquitted him. At the same time, the Carthaginian authorities had great difficulty in paying the annual indemnity due to Rome under the peace of 201 BC, and a proposal was put forward to impose direct taxation on Carthaginian citizens in addition to the customary indirect taxes. This aroused great resentment,

since it was known that much of the revenue from the existing taxes was lost to the state through the corruption of its financial officials. In 196 BC Hannibal was elected one of the two *sufets*, the annually elected chief civil magistrates of Carthage, and introduced reforms to prevent embezzlement of state revenues. Finding himself obstructed by the political establishment, Hannibal proposed and carried constitutional reforms also, destroying the power of the Council of 104 Judges (cf. chapter 2, p. 122), by providing that its members should no longer hold office for life but should be elected annually by the people. Though his reforms appear to have been effective, Hannibal himself was destroyed politically by his success. In 195 BC his opponents laid false information against him at Rome, asserting that he was negotiating with Antiochos III of Syria with a view to making war upon Rome. A Roman mission was sent to Carthage to investigate the accusation, and Hannibal, to avoid being handed over to the Romans, fled from Carthage. He made his way to the east, where he served for some time as a general of Antiochos III in his war against Rome, and finally committed suicide to avoid capture by the Romans in 183 BC.

The financial reforms of Hannibal quickly restored the Carthaginian state to solvency. In 191 BC, indeed, Carthage was even able to offer to pay all the outstanding instalments of the indemnity due to Rome (the last of which was not due until 151 BC). The Romans, not wishing to surrender their hold over Carthage, declined the offer. Despite the loss of all its overseas dependencies, Carthage still controlled an extensive territory of good agricultural land in the interior of North Africa, which yielded a substantial surplus of corn for export. The enforced reduction of military expenditure under the terms of the treaty with Rome must also have facilitated the process of economic recovery.

The Carthaginians appear to have pursued a sincere policy of accommodation with Rome after 201 BC. On several occasions they supplied large quantities of corn for the provision of Roman armies operating in Greece and Asia. But Roman suspicions and fears of Carthage were not assuaged. The Romans looked to their ally Masinissa, now ruler of a united Numidia, to hold Carthage in check, and encouraged him to encroach upon Carthaginian territory in the interior of Africa. The vague terms of the treaty of 201 BC, granting to Masinissa all the lands ever held by him or his ancestors, made it easy for Masinissa to put forward plausible claims to further cessions of Carthaginian territory, while the Carthaginians were restrained from offering military resistance to Masinissa by the provision of the same treaty which

prohibited them from waging war in Africa without Roman permission. Masinissa appears to have begun encroaching upon Carthaginian territory already by 195 BC, and there followed a series of frontier disputes between him and Carthage, regularly referred to the arbitration of Rome, which as regularly upheld Masinissa's claims or, what amounted in practice to the same thing, evaded passing judgement on the issue. The precise stages by which Masinissa extended his kingdom at Carthaginian expense cannot be reconstructed, but he is recorded to have seized control of the Emporia, i.e. the coastal area of Tripolitania in the east, in 162 BC, and of the two Carthaginian provinces of the 'Great Plains' (around Vaga) and 'Tusca' (apparently the Mactar area) in the west in about 153 BC.

During the 150s the Carthaginians, exasperated by Masinissa's aggressions and the failure of Rome to check them, began to rearm, building up their military forces for a war with Masinissa. The final outbreak of open war between Carthage and Masinissa in 150 BC, which could be represented as a breach of the provision of the treaty of 201 BC forbidding Carthage to go to war without Roman permission, provided the Romans with both a specious justification for their fears of a Carthaginian revival and a pretext for intervention. After the refusal of a demand that Carthage should be evacuated and its people settled elsewhere, Rome declared war in 149 BC. Several Phoenician cities, including Utica, Hadrumentum and Leptis Minor, went over to the Romans, who also received assistance from Masinissa's successors in Numidia. But the Carthaginians appear to have retained the loyalty of most of their Libyan subjects and were also aided by some of the Mauri who lived to the west of Numidia. Carthage endured a long siege, but eventually, after the command of the Roman army had been conferred upon Scipio Aemilianus, the adoptive son of Hannibal's conqueror, the city was taken by storm in 146 BC. It was then razed to the ground, and those of its inhabitants who had not been killed were enslaved. The greater part of the remaining Carthaginian territory was annexed to Rome as the province of 'Africa'.

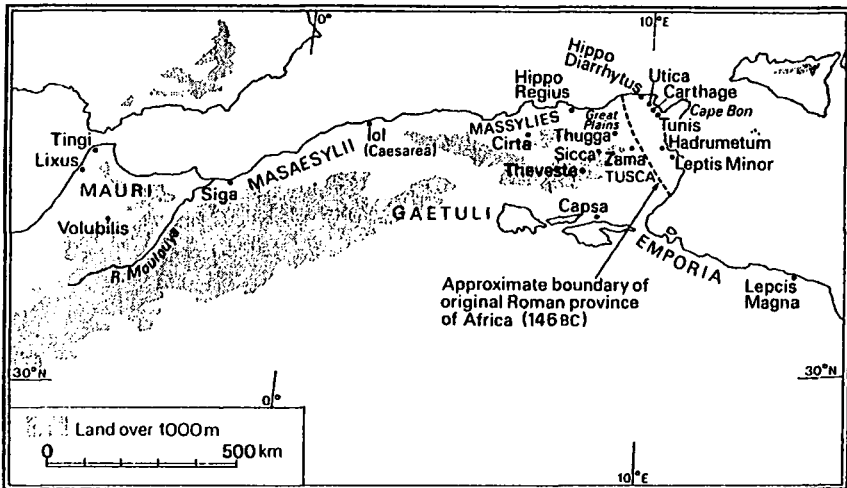
It should be stressed that the destruction of Carthage was by no means the end of Phoenician influence in North Africa. The other Phoenician cities which had deserted to Rome in good time survived, Utica becoming the capital of the Roman province of Africa. In these cities, and among the Libyans formerly subject to Carthage in the interior, the Phoenician language, institutions and religion persisted for several centuries after the fall of Carthage. Even the Numidians,

NORTH AFRICA, 323 BC TO AD 305

who had grown strong at the expense of Carthage, absorbed much of its culture, and in the century following its destruction diffused Phoenician culture over large areas of the interior which Carthage had never effectively ruled.

THE BERBER KINGDOMS OF NORTH AFRICA, c. 250 BC TO AD 40

With the decline and ultimate destruction of Carthage, and the initial unwillingness of Rome to extend its control over large areas of North Africa, effective power in North-West Africa passed for a century and a half to the states which had arisen among the indigenous peoples



24 North-West Africa, third to first centuries BC.

inhabiting the littoral plain to the west of Carthaginian territory, the 'Numidians' (Latin *Numidae*; Greek *Nomades*), whose country extended west as far as the river Moulouya, and the Mauri (Greek *Maurousioi*), who occupied the land beyond this river. Of the culture of these peoples, some account has been given in the preceding chapter (see chapter 2, pp. 140-7). A more detailed consideration is offered here of what is known of the origins and development of their state-systems.

The states of Numidia and Mauretania were ruled by people to whom our sources give the title 'king' (Greek *basileus*; Latin *rex*), or occasionally 'chief' (Greek *dynastes*). The indigenous title, as we know from a

Numidian inscription of the second century BC, was *gld*, presumably a cognate of the modern Berber title *aguellid*. The native rulers also applied to themselves the Phoenician royal title, *melek*. Of the character of their 'kingship' we know little. Eligibility for the kingship seems regularly to have been restricted to a royal family or lineage, succession passing – at least originally – not from father to son, but from brother to brother, or perhaps to the eldest surviving member of the royal family (see chapter 2, p. 146). It also appears that kings were commonly deified after their death. At least, it is clear that such posthumous deification was practised by the Mauri during the Christian era, and there is rather more ambivalent evidence for it in Numidia in the second and first centuries BC. This practice may have owed something to the example of Hellenistic (and, later, Roman) divine kingship, but it might equally have arisen out of the indigenous cult of the dead, which was noticed by the earliest Greek writers on North Africa (see chapter 2, p. 146).

We first hear of 'kings' among the Numidians and Mauri in 406 BC, when they appear among the allies providing forces for the Carthaginian army.¹ But there is no indication in our source of how many of these kings there were, or how large were their kingdoms. The occasional references to kings during the next century and a half are similarly vague. By the time of the second war between Carthage and Rome (218–201 BC), there is evidence for kingdoms of considerable extent and power among both the Numidians and the Mauri. But this date probably marks a stage in the development of our knowledge of North African conditions rather than in the political development of the North African peoples. It remains unclear precisely when kingdoms of any size emerged in North-West Africa.

We possess an account of the origins of the kingdoms of Numidia and Mauretania given by a Numidian king of the first century BC, Hiempsal II, in a historical work written in Punic (Phoenician), though unfortunately it survives only in an abbreviated quotation by a Roman writer.² Hiempsal traced the emergence of organized government and kingship in North-West Africa to the death of the hero Hercules in Spain and the dispersal of his army, which consisted of contingents of Asian peoples. The Medes in his army crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and settled on the North African coast, where they intermarried with the local people to become the Mauri. The Mauri maintained contact

¹ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of history*, XIII.80.3.

² Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthae*, 16–18.

with Spain across the Straits, and the stimulus of this trade quickly led them to become urbanized. The Persian contingent in the army pushed further into the interior of Africa and settled in the desert, among the Gaetuli, with whom they intermarried to become the Pharusii. These desert-dwellers, unlike the Mauri, remained nomadic, but eventually a section of them broke away and moved north, where they overran the littoral between Mauretania and the Carthaginian sphere and became the Numidians. Clearly, it would be wrong to take all this very seriously. It is too obviously the result of the sort of speculative comparison of names dear to ancient scholars, seeking to derive *Mauri* – improbable as this may seem – from *Medi*, and *Pharusii* from *Persae*. Added to this is a desire to establish a connection with Carthaginian legend, since ‘Hercules’ here probably represents not the Graeco-Roman hero, but the Phoenician god Melqart with whom he was regularly identified. The connection with Hercules also appears in another story, according to which the first king of the Mauri was a certain Syphax, a son of Hercules by Tinga, the eponym of the town of Tingi (Tangier).¹ But there may also be some genuine traditions incorporated in Hiempsal’s fantasy. The early connection of Mauretania with Spain at least has some archaeological support (cf. chapter 2, p. 145). And it is a noteworthy, and possibly authentic, detail that Hiempsal attributes the foundation of the kingdoms of Numidia, but not of Mauretania, to immigrants from the Sahara, from among the Pharusii.

It is possible that the origins of state-formation among the Numidians and Mauri should be sought, at least in part, in the stimulus of contact with the Phoenician settlers in North-West Africa. There were Phoenician settlements all along their coasts, which presumably traded with the interior, seeking ivory, hides and precious stones. Individual Numidians and Mauri served in the armies of Carthage as mercenaries, and the Numidians, and less consistently the Mauri, also provided troops for Carthage under treaties of alliance. Possibly the creation of monarchical states was a response to the problems raised by the organization of trade and recruitment for service in the Carthaginian army. But this suggestion is purely speculative, and unsupported by any direct evidence. Phoenician influence of a different kind is suggested by a Numidian inscription of the second century BC, which gives to Zilalsan, the ancestor of the royal dynasty of the eastern Numidian tribe of the Massylii, who flourished in about 250 BC, the title of *sufet*, which is the usual title of the chief civil magistracy in a Phoenician city.

¹ Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 9.4.

The precise significance of this is unclear, but it seems likely that Zilalsan was the principal authority in some Numidian municipality organized on Phoenician lines. Possibly the elevation of his descendants to kingly status was deliberately encouraged by the Carthaginians in order to facilitate the administration of a dependent area.

An alternative, or additional, factor which may have contributed to the creation of extensive kingdoms in North-West Africa owed nothing to Phoenician influence. This was the abandonment of the use of war-chariots in favour of cavalry, which appears to have taken place early in the third century BC (see chapter 2, p. 144). The adoption of cavalry would have greatly increased the mobility of military forces, and facilitated the extension of a chief's authority over wider areas.

The first Numidian chief about whom there is any detailed information is the Naravas who, during the Libyan revolt against Carthage after its first war with Rome (241-237 BC), defected to the Carthaginian side and employed his cavalry to great effect in assisting in the suppression of the revolt (cf. p. 170). For this he was rewarded by marriage to a daughter of the Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca. But we do not know where Naravas ruled, or whether he was the ancestor of any of the Numidian dynasties which were later important. The size of the contingent which he brought over to the Carthaginians, only 2,000 in number, does not suggest that his territory was very extensive.

A fairly detailed picture can be reconstructed of political conditions in Numidia during the second war of Carthage with Rome (218-201 BC). The country was then divided among several chieftaincies. The most powerful of these was that of the Masaesylii in the west, with its capital at the coastal city of Siga, which had earlier, during the fourth century BC, been under Carthaginian control. Syphax, the King of the Masaesylii, may have had some formal position of hegemony among the Numidian chiefs. This at least seems to be implied in the words of the Greek historian Appian:

There were many separate chieftains of the Numidians in Africa, but Syphax occupied the highest place of all, and was held in great honour by all the others.¹

Syphax was certainly the most powerful chief, and was also the only one of this period to issue coins of his own. A few of these, struck in bronze and bearing the bearded portrait of Syphax and the legend 'Syphax the

¹ Appian, *Punic wars*, 10.

King' in Punic, are extant. Of the lesser chieftains, the most considerable was Gaia, the son of the *sufet* Zilalsan mentioned above, who was King of the Massylians in the east, bordering Carthaginian territory, and had his capital probably at Cirta. Syphax and Gaia were enemies, disputing possession of border territories. Gaia had also clashed at some time with the Carthaginians, and had annexed territory claimed by them. But at this period he had close links with Carthage. His son Masinissa (born c. 238 BC) had been educated at Carthage, and his brother Oezalces had among his wives a niece of the Carthaginian general Hannibal.¹

Mention has already been made (p. 172) of the war which Syphax fought against the Carthaginians and the Massylians in 215–212 BC. The commander of the Massylian forces in this war was Gaia's son Masinissa, who was rewarded by betrothal to the daughter of another leading Carthaginian general, Hasdrubal, son of Gisco. After 212 BC Masinissa commanded a force of Massylian cavalry which fought with the Carthaginians against the Romans in Spain. Syphax meanwhile continued to intrigue with the Romans, but was eventually (c. 205 BC) won over to the Carthaginian side through the diplomacy of Hasdrubal, son of Gisco. Hasdrubal's daughter, earlier promised to Masinissa, was then married instead to Syphax.

While Masinissa was in Spain, the kingdom of the Massylians became involved in a serious internal crisis. Gaia, the King of the Massylians, died c. 208 BC, and was succeeded by his brother Oezalces. Oezalces dying soon after his accession, the kingship passed to the elder of his two sons, Capussa. Now, however, a rebellion was led by a member of a rival segment of the royal lineage, called Mazaetullus, who defeated and killed Capussa and set himself up as regent for Lacumazes, Capussa's younger brother. Fearing that Masinissa would challenge his position, Mazaetullus made an alliance with Syphax and sought to secure the favour of Carthage by marrying the Carthaginian widow (Hannibal's niece) left by Oezalces. Masinissa, hearing of these events, made a secret alliance with Scipio, the Roman commander in Spain, and crossed back to Africa (206 BC). Having applied unsuccessfully for aid to the King of the Mauri, he made his way back to the country of the Massylians, where he quickly defeated Lacumazes and Mazaetullus and persuaded them to acknowledge his own right to the kingship. How-

¹ A daughter of a sister of Hannibal (Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, xxix.29.12): possibly a daughter of the earlier Numidian chief Naravas by his Carthaginian wife, who was a daughter of Hamilcar Barca and thus a sister of Hannibal (cf. p. 179).

ever, Syphax, with the encouragement of Carthage, proceeded to invade the land of the Massylii and, after fierce and protracted fighting, expelled Masinissa and annexed his kingdom, apparently transferring his own capital from Siga to Cirta. Masinissa fled eastwards, and maintained himself for a while in the desert hinterland of Tripolitania.

When the Roman army under Scipio landed in Africa in 204 BC, Masinissa joined him with the small cavalry force which he still retained. Syphax marched to the support of Carthage, whose forces were commanded by his father-in-law Hasdrubal, bringing no less than 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. After Scipio's victories in 203 BC, Syphax retreated westwards into Numidia, pursued by Masinissa and a portion of the Roman army, by whom he was defeated and captured. He was taken by the Romans to Italy, where he died in captivity not long after. Masinissa was able to occupy Cirta and recover possession of the kingdom of the Massylii, though princes of the line of Syphax continued to control the old kingdom of the Masaesylia to the west. In the decisive battle of Zama in 202 BC. Masinissa brought to the aid of Scipio a force of 6,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry, which played a crucial role in securing Scipio's victory. Hannibal, the Carthaginian commander, had to be content with the support of lesser Numidian chiefs. A son of Syphax called Vermina brought substantial forces to assist Hannibal, but these arrived too late for the battle, and were caught and destroyed by the Romans when they did arrive.

By his good fortune or good judgement in choosing the winning side in 202 BC, Masinissa had taken the decisive step which was to carry him to possession of a kingdom embracing the whole of Numidia. His achievement was not, however, due solely to the favour and support of Rome. He was himself a redoubtable figure, a man of great vigour who remained active, even commanding his troops in person, up to his death at the age of ninety, and who fathered no less than forty-four sons, the last of them at the age of eighty-six. The peace settlement of 201 BC brought him immediate territorial gains at the expense of Carthage (cf. p. 173). He also received some of the war-elephants confiscated from Carthage, and developed the use of elephants as a normal arm of Numidian warfare. More important, he had won the lasting gratitude of Rome, which he reinforced throughout his long reign by supplying provisions and forces, especially cavalry and elephants, for Rome's wars in Spain, Greece and Asia. By the favour of Rome he was able, as has been seen earlier, to encroach steadily upon the territory remaining to Carthage after 201 BC, until his aggressions

precipitated the third and final war between Carthage and Rome in 149 BC.

While Masinissa's relations with Carthage and Rome are reasonably well documented, little is known of his dealings with the rival chiefs of Numidia. Yet by the end of his reign Masinissa had apparently suppressed or subjected the independent chiefs and united all the Numidians under his rule. The most considerable of his opponents must have been the successors of Syphax in the kingdom of the Masaesylii, still maintaining themselves in western Numidia. Vermina, the son of Syphax, survived the defeat of 203 BC, and in 200 BC we find him negotiating with Rome and apparently securing a formal treaty of peace and recognition of his position. He was at any rate well enough established to issue coins, in silver, bearing his own portrait and name in Punic. How and when Masinissa was able to overcome the Masaesylii is not recorded. But by the 150s BC the last of the Masaesylan princes, a grandson of Syphax called Arcobarzanes, was a fugitive in Carthaginian territory. The unification of Numidia was effected, but the state created by Masinissa was a fragile structure. There were frequent revolts by minor Numidian chieftains, and apparently also disaffection among the agricultural population of the areas in the east annexed from Carthage.

Besides imposing political unity on the Numidians, Masinissa undertook a transformation of their economy and way of life. He encouraged the development of agriculture, creating vast estates for all of his many sons. Numidia became a considerable exporter of corn to the Mediterranean world, and some progress was made in developing arboriculture as well as cereal-culture. According to a contemporary witness, the Greek historian Polybius,

Before his time, the whole of Numidia was barren, and considered naturally incapable of bearing cultivated crops. He first and he alone demonstrated that it could bear all kinds of cultivated crops.¹

This tribute is echoed by a later writer, who declares that Masinissa 'turned the Numidians into town-dwellers and farmers'.² This is certainly a gross exaggeration. There had been agriculture in Numidia, and some large towns, such as Cirta, even before Masinissa, and Masinissa's own activities appear to have affected principally the eastern areas of Numidia (already developed to some extent under Carthaginian influence) and to have had little impact upon western Numidia. However, it is unquestionable that Masinissa's reign brought a great advance in this respect. Masinissa also effected the monetization of the Numidian

¹ Polybius, *Histories*, xxxvi.3.7.

² Strabo, *Geography*, xvii.3.15.

economy. Coins had been struck earlier by Syphax and Vermina, but apparently not in great numbers, and perhaps rather for prestige and as a token of their kingly status than for economic purposes. The coins of Masinissa, however, struck in bronze and lead and bearing his bearded portrait and initials in the Punic script, are very numerous, and evidently served as a circulating currency among the Numidians, or at least among the eastern Numidians.

Masinissa died, at the age of ninety, in 148 BC, not long after the outbreak of the third war between Carthage and Rome. He was survived by three legitimate sons, Micipsa, Gulussa and Mastanabal, as well as seven illegitimate sons. Influenced, no doubt, by the disastrous crisis which followed the death of his father in c. 208 BC, Masinissa was anxious to avoid a disputed succession at his own death, and sought to solve the problem by designating his eldest son, Micipsa, as substantive king, and requesting a Roman friend, Scipio Aemilianus, to arrange the precise division of his inheritance between him and his brothers. It is to be noted that on this occasion and later, in contrast to earlier Numidian practice, there was no question of the kingship passing to anyone but the king's sons. Presumably we see here the supersession of the indigenous principle of succession by one derived from Phoenician (or perhaps even Roman) practice. Scipio confirmed Micipsa in possession of the palace at Cirta and of the royal treasury, while appointing Gulussa as commander of the Numidian army and Mastanabal as chief judicial authority in the kingdom. The illegitimate brothers were installed as subordinate chiefs of territorial divisions of the kingdom. A more unstable arrangement is difficult to imagine. But we hear of no troubles, and the potential weakness was quickly removed when the deaths of Gulussa and Mastanabal left Micipsa as the sole ruler.

Gulussa took forces to assist the Romans against Carthage in 148-146 BC, and the territorial settlement which followed the fall of Carthage in 146 BC brought Numidia further gains. An earthwork, the *fossa regia* ('Royal Ditch'), was constructed to demarcate the boundary between the Numidian kingdom and the Roman province of Africa. The Numidian kingdom was by now an immense state. Micipsa ruled over the whole of the coastal plain from the river Moulouya in the west to the Roman province in the east, including the Phoenician cities along the coast such as Hippo Regius (Bone).¹ To the east of the Roman province, Lepcis Magna and the other cities of the Tripolitanian coast were

¹ 'Royal Hippo' or 'Hippo in the Kingdom', so called to distinguish it from the more important Hippo (Bizerta) which was included in the Roman province of Africa. The latter was sometimes called Hippo Diarrhytus.

subject, having been conquered by Masinissa in 162 BC. In the interior, Micipsa's realm included the town of Capsa (Gafsa) and a section of the Gaetuli. From these territories, Micipsa could raise a powerful army of infantry and cavalry, and a considerable force of war-elephants. There was even a small Numidian fleet, originally created by Masinissa.

The culture of the Numidian kingdom was to a considerable degree Phoenician. The Numidians had, of course, long been subject to Phoenician influence, through trade and service in the Carthaginian army and through marriage alliances between Numidian rulers and prominent Carthaginian families. Masinissa himself, it will be recalled, had been educated at Carthage. Phoenician influence became still stronger after 201 BC, even though the political domination of Carthage had ended. This process was no doubt assisted by the absorption into the Numidian kingdom of Phoenician towns on the coast, such as Hippo Regius and Lepcis Magna, and of towns in the interior which had been under Carthaginian rule, such as Thugga and Sicca. But Phoenician influence penetrated also into purely Numidian areas. The towns of Cirta and Capsa, for example, had municipal institutions modelled on those of the Phoenicians, their chief magistrates bearing the Phoenician title *sufet*. The Numidian court also adopted elements of Phoenician religion: for example, the occurrence in the Numidian royal family of the names Adherbal (a purely Phoenician name) and Mastanabal (a hybrid form, combining Numidian and Phoenician components) advertises its devotion to the Phoenician god Baal. Punic was employed as the official language of the Numidian kingdom, as is shown by monumental inscriptions and coin legends. Numidia even became something of a centre of Punic literary culture. In 146 BC the Romans presented to Micipsa the captured library of Carthage, and in the following century, as has been seen, a Numidian king (Hiempsal II) wrote a history of his country in Punic.

The defeat of Carthage also opened up Numidia to other foreign influences besides that of the Phoenicians. Roman influence came with the service of Numidians as auxiliaries in the Roman army, and with the penetration of Italian traders into Numidia in quest of corn and other commodities. By the end of the first century BC there was a substantial colony of Italian merchants resident at Cirta. Numidia also developed commercial and diplomatic relations with the Greek world. Masinissa's son Mastanabal is recorded to have been literate in Greek, while Micipsa took an active interest in Greek philosophy, encouraging learned Greeks to come to settle at Cirta.

It would be wrong, however, to see the development of Numidian civilization during this period solely in terms of the absorption of foreign influences. The vitality of the indigenous culture is demonstrated, for example, by the creation of an alphabetic script for the writing of the Numidian language. This script is apparently ancestral to the *tifinagh* script employed by the Berbers of the Sahara in recent times: at any rate, several characters are common to both scripts. The precise date at which the script was developed is unknown, but the earliest dateable text in it is an inscription of the tenth year of Micipsa (i.e. 139 BC) at Thugga. The idea of an alphabetic script was presumably borrowed from the Phoenicians, though of the actual characters employed only some five out of twenty-three are obviously derived from the Phoenician alphabet.¹

The destruction of Carthage in 146 BC removed the basis of the long friendship between Rome and Numidia. Their common enemy was removed, and the Numidian kingdom now had as its neighbour a Roman province. Masinissa is reported to have been aggrieved that the Romans had forestalled his own ambition to conquer Carthage, and after his death in 148 BC his sons were initially reluctant to supply forces to assist the Roman army besieging Carthage. But after these early difficulties, the implications of the new situation were slow to work themselves out. Friendship between Rome and Numidia was maintained throughout the reign of Micipsa, and the clash finally arose from a disputed succession which followed Micipsa's death in 118 BC. Micipsa left two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, as well as the older and abler Jugurtha, an illegitimate son of Mastanabal, whom he had adopted. Solicitous as his father about the succession, he apparently left a written will naming all three as his heirs, probably envisaging a triumvirate such as had been established in 148 BC, with Jugurtha in the position of Micipsa as substantive king. But in the event, Adherbal and Hiempsal were too jealous to work with Jugurtha, and it was decided instead to divide the Numidian kingdom into three separate chieftaincies. Jugurtha, however, murdered Hiempsal and attacked and expelled Adherbal, and seized sole power for himself. Adherbal then made his way to Rome and appealed for support. A Roman mission was sent to Numidia to arrange a new division of the kingdom, and assigned the eastern portion of the kingdom, including the capital Cirta, to Adherbal, and the western portion to Jugurtha. Jugurtha, however, remained

¹ For the Numidian, or 'Libyan', alphabet, including a comparison with the *tifinagh* and Phoenician scripts, see O. Bates, *The eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), 84-90.

unsatisfied, and proceeded to encroach upon Adherbal's lands. Finally, in 112 BC he defeated Adherbal in battle and besieged him in Cirta. Despite protests from Rome, he forced the surrender of the town, and put to death not only Adherbal, but also the Italian traders resident in the town, who had assisted in the defence. This so antagonized Roman popular opinion that war was declared against Jugurtha in 111 BC.

The Romans quickly secured control of Cirta and other principal towns of Numidia, and forced Jugurtha to take refuge among the Gaetuli (108 BC). However, there Jugurtha gathered a new army, and also secured aid from his son-in-law Bocchus, the king of the Mauri, with which he was able to renew the war. In 106 BC the Roman general Marius penetrated along the whole length of Numidia to reach the river Moulouya. Jugurtha again invoked the aid of Bocchus, though he now had to pay for it by ceding to him the western portion of his kingdom, and attacked Marius on his march back to Cirta. However, these attacks having failed, Bocchus opened negotiations with Marius, and after many hesitations agreed to arrest Jugurtha and surrender him to the Romans (105 BC). Jugurtha was taken captive to Italy and ultimately put to death. The kingdom of Masinissa and Micipsa was now dismembered. In the east, Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania had defected to the Roman side during the war, and remained independent after it. In the west, Bocchus kept the territory which Jugurtha had promised him in 106 BC. In the interior, Marius granted independence to several chieftains of the Gaetuli who had come over to Rome in good season. The rump of the Numidian kingdom was divided into two. Over the eastern half was placed Gauda, a son of Mastanabal and half-brother of Jugurtha. The capital of this kingdom was established at Zama. The west, including the traditional capital Cirta, was apparently constituted a separate kingdom.

Our knowledge of the history of these two Numidian states, now reduced to the status of Roman client-kingsdoms, is very fragmentary. By 88 BC Gauda had been succeeded by his son Hiempsal II, the author of the historical work cited above. Numidia now became involved in the Roman civil wars between the partisans of Marius and Sulla. In 81 BC the province of Africa was held by the Marians, who enjoyed the alliance of a Numidian king called Hiarbas. Who Hiarbas was is obscure: perhaps he had usurped the throne of Hiempsal, or perhaps he was the ruler of the western Numidian kingdom centred on Cirta. Sulla's general Pompey defeated the Marians, and Hiarbas fled west-

wards, but found his escape blocked by Bogud, a Mauretanian king, and was captured and put to death by Pompey. Pompey reinstated or confirmed Hiempsal in his kingdom, and enlarged his dominions by subjecting to him the Gaetuli to whom Marius had granted independence in 105 BC.

Hiempsal survived at least until 62 BC, and was succeeded by his son Juba. The increasing importance of Roman influence upon Numidia by this period is illustrated by the fact that the coins of Juba bear legends in Latin as well as in Punic. To Juba possibly belongs the credit of introducing the use of camels into North-West Africa: one of the earliest records of the existence of camels in this area relates to animals in his possession.¹ It is clear, however, that camels did not become common in North-West Africa until much later (cf. p. 204). Early in his reign, Juba sent forces to raid the city of Lepcis Magna, which obtained restitution by an appeal to Rome. It was presumably this which provoked an abortive proposal at Rome to annex Juba's kingdom in 50 BC. After 49 BC, Numidia again became implicated in the civil wars of the Romans, now between the parties of Caesar and Pompey. The Roman province of Africa was held by the Pompeians, who won the support both of Juba and of the ruler of the western Numidian kingdom centred on Cirta, who bore the great name of Masinissa. When Caesar invaded Africa in 46 BC, both Juba and Masinissa II assisted his opponents. Caesar, however, was able to divert some of the Numidian forces by arranging an invasion of Numidia from the west by Bocchus II, a Mauretanian king, and Publius Sittius, an Italian renegade commander of mercenaries in the service of Bocchus, who occupied Cirta. Caesar was eventually victorious, and Juba committed suicide. Juba's kingdom was annexed to Rome, becoming the province of Africa Nova ('New Africa'). The kingdom of Masinissa II was broken up, the western part being ceded to Bocchus of Mauretania, while the east, including Cirta, was granted to Sittius as an independent principality.

This was not, however, quite the end of the native Numidian kingdoms. A son of Masinissa II called Arabio escaped the defeat of 46 BC, and joined the Pompeian forces still fighting in Spain. In 44 BC he returned to Africa, murdered Sittius, and recovered his father's kingdom. For a brief while he maintained his position, and played a role in the civil wars which followed Caesar's death, interfering in fighting between rival governors of the two Roman provinces. But in

¹ In 46 BC Caesar captured twenty-two camels belonging to Juba: Pseudo-Caesar, *De Bello Africo*, 68.4. See also ch. 5, pp. 288-9.

40 BC Arabio was expelled from his kingdom and then murdered. Cirta also was now incorporated into the Roman empire.

The history of Mauretania is even more obscure and fragmentary than that of the Numidian kingdoms to the east. The geographical remoteness of the Mauri from Carthage and, later, from the Roman province of Africa ensured that they attracted only occasionally the attention of the Greek and Roman historians who are our principal sources of information. It does appear, however, that by the time of the war of 218–201 BC a powerful kingdom existed among the Mauri as among the Masaesylii and Massylii of Numidia. It was to the King of the Mauri, named Baga, that Masinissa appealed for aid in his attempt to seize the throne of the Massylii in 206 BC. Baga refused to become involved, but did give Masinissa an escort of 4,000 troops to see him safely to the borders of his father's kingdom. After Baga's fleeting appearance in recorded history, the kingdom of the Mauri is lost in almost total obscurity for nearly a century. It must be supposed, however, that it was during the period following the defeat of Carthage by Rome in 201 BC that the Mauri gained control of the Phoenician cities established on their coasts, the most important of which were Tingi and Lixus. It is also recorded that some of the Mauri aided Carthage in its final war against Rome (149–146 BC), but it is not clear whether the central Mauretanian kingdom was involved.

We again hear something of the kingdom of the Mauri through the involvement of King Bocchus in the war of Rome with Jugurtha of Numidia (111–105 BC). Bocchus had married a daughter of Jugurtha, but at the beginning of the war he sent envoys to Rome offering his alliance. His approach was, however, rebuffed, and, as has been seen, on two occasions (108 and 106 BC) Bocchus marched east to aid Jugurtha against the Romans, on the second occasion exacting as the price for his assistance the cession of the western portion of Numidia. By betraying Jugurtha and making peace with Rome in 105 BC, Bocchus secured unchallenged possession of this territory. He also became an ally of Rome, and from this date we find Mauretanian as well as Numidian auxiliaries serving with Rome's armies.

Bocchus lived at least until 91 BC, but apparently died soon after. On his death, his kingdom seems to have been divided, one king ruling over the original Mauretanian territory to the west of the river Moulouya and another over the new territory in the east annexed in 105 BC. Like the Numidian kings, the successors of Bocchus became involved in the

Roman civil wars of the 80s BC. The Bogud who in 81 BC aided Pompey against Hiarbas (cf. p. 187), and who is described as a son of Bocchus, was presumably ruler of the eastern kingdom. About the same time (c. 81 BC), we find another king in the west: Askalis, son of Iphtha. Under Askalis, a rebellion broke out in western Mauretania. The Marian general Sertorius, expelled from Spain by Sulla's forces, joined forces with the rebels, and besieged Askalis in Tingi. A Roman army sent by Sulla to assist Askalis was defeated, and Sertorius forced the surrender of Tingi. What followed is unfortunately not recorded.

The kings of Mauretania sponsored the same sort of development as had Masinissa and his successors in Numidia, but the rate of progress in the west was much slower. A large part of the population was still essentially nomadic and pastoral at the end of the first century BC, and the principal urban centres in the west were the old Phoenician cities on the coast, especially Tingi and Lixus, though some purely indigenous towns did develop in the interior, notably Volubilis. It is also noteworthy that the Mauretanian kings did not issue any coins until the second half of the first century BC. However, during the first century BC, the country was opened up by Italian traders, seeking ivory, cedar-wood and animals for the Roman Games. It is also recorded that the Mauri of the first century BC habitually wore gold ornaments, but it is not known whether this gold was obtained from Spain or from the Sudan across the Sahara.

Little is known of the history of Mauretania for thirty years after 81 BC, except for the remarkable career of the Italian renegade Sittius. This man traded in Mauretania for many years, and in 64 BC, being in fear of prosecution at Rome, came to reside there permanently, setting himself up as the commander of a force of mercenaries which he hired out to the warring rulers of North-West Africa. In 49 BC, we again find two kings in Mauretania, a second Bogud in the west and a second Bocchus in the east. These kings were the first rulers of Mauretania to strike coins: those of Bocchus bear legends in Punic, while those of Bogud bear legends in Latin. Caesar sought the alliance of Bogud and Bocchus as a counter to the Numidian kings who supported the Pompeians, and both rendered him good service. Bogud took forces to aid the Caesarians in Spain in 47 BC, and Bocchus, as has been seen, together with Sittius invaded Numidia in support of Caesar in 46 BC. Later, however, the two kings became jealous of one another, and took opposite sides in Rome's civil wars. In 45 BC, when Bogud again fought on Caesar's side in Spain, Bocchus sent his sons to fight for the

Pompeians. In the civil wars which followed Caesar's death, Bogud took the part of Antony while Bocchus supported Caesar Octavian. In 38 BC Bogud invaded Spain in the interest of Antony, but in his absence the town of Tingi revolted, and Bocchus marched west in support of the rebels. Bogud found himself unable to re-enter his kingdom, and went east to join Antony, for whom he died fighting in 31 BC. Bocchus meanwhile annexed his kingdom and ruled over a reunited Mauretania.

Bocchus died in 33 BC, apparently without heirs, and his kingdom was annexed to Rome by Caesar Octavian. Several colonies of demobilized Roman soldiers were established in the towns of Mauretania. Octavian decided, however, that Mauretania did not warrant the trouble and expense of administering and defending permanently, and in 25 BC re-established it as a client-kingdom. He set upon the throne a son of Juba of Numidia, also called Juba, who had been captured as a child in 46 BC and brought up in Octavian's household. Juba established his capital at the old Phoenician city of Iol, which he renamed Caesarea (whence the modern name, Cherchel) in honour of his patron. He received as his consort Cleopatra Selene, a daughter of Cleopatra VII of Egypt by Antony, who had fallen into Roman hands at the fall of Egypt in 30 BC. It is difficult to believe that this Romanized Numidian and his Greek wife could really command the loyalty of the Mauri, but not much is known of the internal situation in Mauretania during Juba's reign. In AD 6, however, when the Gaetuli in his kingdom revolted and even raided Roman territory, Juba had to call in Roman assistance to suppress them.

Juba has a special interest to the historian as the author of a compendious work, in Greek, on the geography of Africa and Asia, which unfortunately survives only in fragmentary quotations. In pursuance of his researches in this field, Juba organized explorations in Africa, sending men into the interior to explore the northern margins of the Sahara and a naval expedition down the Atlantic coast of Mauretania. The latter reached at least as far as the island of Mogador, where Juba established a factory for the extraction of purple dye, and from there explored, but did not colonize, the Canaries.

Juba died after a long reign in AD 23/4, leaving the kingdom to his son by Cleopatra Selene, who bore in honour of his maternal ancestry the name of Ptolemy. The change of ruler encouraged a revolt among the Mauri, but this was apparently soon suppressed. In AD 40, however, Ptolemy was summoned to Rome by the Emperor Caius Caligula and murdered, and Mauretania was a second time, and finally, annexed to

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN AFRICA

Rome. Roman authority was established only after a serious rising among the Mauri, but whether this was due to the popularity of Ptolemy or simply to fear of the Romans must remain uncertain.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN AFRICA

The annexation of Mauretania in AD 40 completed the process, begun with the establishment of the Roman province of 'Africa' in 146 BC, whereby the entire coastal area of northern Africa was brought under Roman rule. Thereafter, Roman authority was maintained more or less effectively over northern Africa until the collapse of Roman power in the early fifth century AD.

Before considering the history of northern Africa under Roman rule, it is necessary to give some general account of Roman administrative and military practices. During the earliest stages of its imperial expansion, Rome was governed by a republican regime. Executive authority was exercised by popularly elected annual magistrates, headed by the two *consuls*, and legislative authority rested with the general assembly of Roman citizens. Effective power, however, lay rather with the Senate, a council of ex-magistrates. Wealthy citizens who were not members of the Senate were called, from their obligation of military service as cavalrymen, *equites* ('knights'), and these provided the merchants and financiers who exploited the opportunities afforded by Rome's imperial expansion. During the first century BC, owing in part to the effects of the new sources of wealth derived from the expansion of the empire, the Roman republic disintegrated in a series of civil wars. The ultimate outcome was military dictatorship, and the seizure of sole and absolute power by the victor in the last of the civil wars, Caesar Octavian (Augustus). In 27 BC, Augustus ostensibly 'restored the republic', resigning power once more to the Senate and contenting himself with the position of a republican magistrate. In fact, he established a quasi-hereditary monarchy, and he and the successors to his position are customarily accounted emperors of Rome. The Roman emperors even adopted some of the trappings of Hellenistic divine kingship, being regularly deified posthumously at Rome and often worshipped even during their lifetime in the provinces.

Under the republic, the provinces of the Roman empire were administered by ex-magistrates who held office for short periods with the title of *proconsul* or *propraetor*. In 27 BC Augustus divided the administration of the empire with the Senate. The provinces assigned

to the Senate were administered according to republican practice, while Augustus governed the others through deputies of senatorial rank, called *legati*, or in some instances through an official of equestrian rank, with the title *praefectus* or *procurator*. Subsequently, Augustus acquired overriding powers which enabled him to interfere in the administration of the senatorial provinces also. In Africa, the provinces of Africa Proconsularis (incorporating both the original 'Africa' annexed in 146 BC and the 'New Africa' annexed in 46 BC) and Cyrenaica were assigned to the Senate, while Egypt was governed by an equestrian *praefectus* and Mauretania was usually divided into two provinces, each of which was governed by an equestrian *procurator*. The province of Numidia, carved out of Africa Proconsularis in c. AD 40, was assigned to the emperor and administered by a *legatus* of senatorial rank.

The basic component unit of the Roman army was the legion (*legio*), a force of heavy infantry nominally 6,000 strong. Legions were originally recruited ad hoc and disbanded at the conclusion of each war, but after 27 BC Augustus turned them into permanent garrison forces for the provinces of the empire, and these were increasingly recruited from the areas in which they were stationed. At the death of Augustus (AD 14), the total military establishment of the empire comprised twenty-five legions. Only three of these were stationed in Africa, two in Egypt and one in Africa Proconsularis (after c. AD 40, in Numidia). In principle, only Roman citizens could serve in the legions. Non-citizen subjects and allies served in auxiliary formations (*auxilia*). Under the empire, these also tended to become permanently localized garrison forces (not necessarily, or even usually, in their country of origin) and to be recruited locally.

The legal distinction between the inhabitants of the metropolitan country and those of the provinces was progressively obscured under the empire, both by the settlement of Roman citizens in the provinces and by the granting of Roman citizenship to subject peoples and individuals. This process was consummated in AD 212, when citizenship was granted to nearly all freeborn inhabitants of the Roman empire. By that time, there had already been many emperors of non-Italian origin, and the current dynasty, the Severi (AD 193–235), hailed from northern Africa.

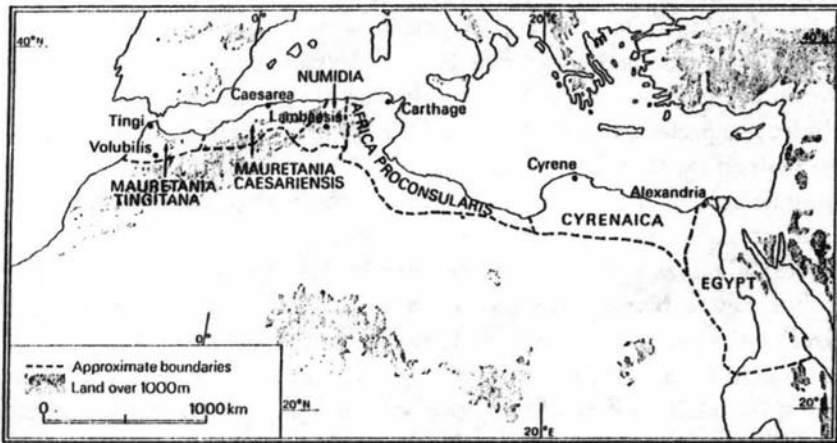
The North African territories of the Roman empire were never administered as a single unit. Even under Roman rule, the old distinction persisted between the Greek sphere in the east, in Egypt and

EGYPT AND CYRENAICA UNDER ROMAN RULE

Cyrenaica, and the Phoenician sphere in the west; these two areas will be treated separately.

EGYPT AND CYRENAICA UNDER ROMAN RULE

After the suicide of Cleopatra VII, the last ruler of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, in 30 BC, the Romans were able to establish their authority throughout Egypt without great difficulty. There was a rising in the Thebaid, in Upper Egypt, but this was quickly suppressed. The only



25 Roman provinces in Africa, early third century AD.

serious threat to the Roman position in Egypt was provided by the kingdom of Meroe to the south. Under the later Ptolemies, control of Lower Nubia above the First Cataract appears to have passed again from Egypt to Meroe. In 29 BC, after suppressing the revolt in the Thebaid, the Romans negotiated with the king of Meroe, who had possibly supported the revolt, and it was agreed that an independent buffer state with its own king should be created in the frontier zone between the First and Second Cataracts, while the Meroitic king himself accepted Roman protection. This arrangement, however, soon broke down, and war broke out with Meroe in 25 BC. Meroitic forces raided Upper Egypt, and a Roman army carried out a retaliatory invasion of Nubia, in which they sacked the town of Napata. (See chapter 4, pp. 245–50.) Peace was finally made in 21 BC, leaving the Meroitic kingdom still independent. The Lower Nubian buffer state disappeared, and the southern boundary of Roman authority was set at Hierasykaminos (Maharraqa), between the First and Second Cataracts.

Thereafter, friendly relations were maintained between Rome and Meroe, and Egypt was threatened only by occasional raids by the Blemmyes, the people who inhabited the desert east of the Upper Nile. The large Roman garrison in Egypt – originally three legions, later reduced to two – was not justified by any foreign threat to the country, and was probably intended primarily to secure Egypt against any Roman challenger to the emperor's power.

Egypt was administered by a prefect (*praefectus*) of equestrian rank appointed by the emperor, and was by far the most important province of the Roman empire to have a non-senatorial governor. This arrangement also illustrates the concern of Augustus and his successors to secure their personal control of Egypt. Roman senators, indeed, were forbidden even to visit Egypt without the emperor's permission. Under the prefect, the Ptolemaic administrative machinery was largely maintained, with minor modifications. The nomes continued to be administered by *strategoi*, while in addition to the *epistrategos*, or regional governor, of Upper Egypt created under the later Ptolemies (cf. p. 158), additional *epistrategoi* were appointed for Middle Egypt (known officially as 'the Seven Nomes and the Arsinoite Nome') and the Delta. The Greek cities in Egypt – Alexandria, Naukratis and Ptolemais – continued to enjoy their municipal autonomy, and a fourth self-governing Greek city was added with the foundation of Antinoopolis by the Emperor Hadrian in AD 130. Alexandria, however, had ceased to be truly self-governing: it had apparently lost its governing 'senate' (*gerousia*) under the later Ptolemies, and the Romans rejected petitions for its restoration.

Roman rule did not involve any considerable degree of 'Romanization' for Egypt. Only the most senior officials – the prefect, the *epistrategoi*, and a few others – were Romans. The bulk of the bureaucracy continued to be recruited from Greeks and Hellenized Egyptians, and Greek remained the principal language of the Egyptian administration. Alexandria continued to be an important centre of Greek literature and learning, and with the spread of Christianity among the Egyptian Greeks it became also a principal intellectual centre for the Greek-speaking section of the Christian Church. The indigenous Egyptian culture also persisted. The Roman emperors, despite their claim to be merely the principal magistrates of a republic, found it necessary in Egypt to appeal to traditional loyalties by presenting themselves as Pharaohs, and were accorded the customary pharaonic titles and represented as wearing pharaonic regalia in their Egyptian monuments. The indigenous Egyptian priesthood was maintained, though it was

subjected to even greater central control than under the Ptolemies, being placed under a Roman official entitled the 'High Priest of Alexandria and all Egypt'. Loyalty to the traditional gods of Egypt faded only when Christianity began to spread on a large scale among the native Egyptians during the third century AD. Even then, the educated Egyptian élite continued the tradition of literacy in their native language, though this had by now begun to be written in Greek characters more often than in the indigenous scripts.

The Romans were principally interested in Egypt for the revenues which they could derive from it. They largely took over and elaborated the existing Ptolemaic system of taxation. After the traditional tax on agricultural produce, the most important source of revenue was a poll-tax imposed on adult male native Egyptians. The Egyptians continued to be liable to this poll-tax even when, by the decree of AD 212, they had become Roman citizens. The Romans took over control of the royal lands in Egypt, but abandoned the Ptolemaic system of royal monopolies of the production and sale of certain commodities in favour of the sale of licences to private producers. They also sought to reduce the expense of administering Egypt by progressively running down the salaried bureaucracy which they inherited from the Ptolemies, and instead making service in administrative posts a civic obligation (or 'liturgy') for the wealthier inhabitants. The overall level of taxation was certainly higher than under the Ptolemies, and the strain on the Egyptian economy was increased by the fact that much of the revenue collected was taken out of the country without bringing any return. The most onerous burden was the obligation to supply annually, without payment, a large fixed amount of corn to Rome.

Despite the heavy taxation imposed by the Romans, it is clear that initially the establishment of Roman rule brought a period of increased prosperity to Egypt. The restoration of an effective central authority checked brigandage and other disruptive local disorders, and the Romans carried out a renovation of the irrigation canals. At the same time, though probably not as the result of official initiative, irrigation techniques were improved by the introduction into Egypt from Mesopotamia of the ox-powered irrigation wheel (nowadays called the *sagia*). The work of the later Ptolemies in developing the Red Sea trade of Egypt was also continued. Already under Augustus, as many as 120 ships sailed annually from Egypt to trade beyond the straits of the Bab el-Mandeb. Trade with India was greatly facilitated when, at an uncertain date, probably in the early years of Roman rule, a Greek

merchant called Hippalos discovered the regularity of the monsoon winds, which enabled ships to sail direct across the Indian Ocean rather than keeping close to the coast. The flourishing state of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade is vividly illustrated by the anonymous *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, a Greek commercial guide probably of the later first or early second century AD. The *Periplus* shows that, besides sailing to India, Greek merchants from Egypt were still trading for ivory along the north-eastern coast of Africa, where the Ptolemaic port of Adulis now afforded access to the rising kingdom of Aksum, and had also begun trading down the East African coast beyond Cape Guardafui, an area earlier monopolized by Arab traders. At the time of the *Periplus*, Greek merchants traded regularly as far south as the Zanzibar area, and during the second century AD they appear to have reached as far as Cape Delgado.

The principal internal problem of Egypt during the early years of Roman rule was the deterioration of relations between the Greek and Jewish communities in Alexandria. The substantial Jewish population in Alexandria had its origins in the Ptolemaic period (cf. p. 152), but Greek jealousy of the Jews does not appear to have been significant until the Roman period, when the Alexandrian Jews collaborated with the Roman conquerors and received various privileges from them. Disputes over the status of Jews vis-à-vis the Greek citizens of Alexandria first led to serious disturbances in AD 38, when Greek mobs attacked the Jewish quarter in Alexandria and killed many Jews. Further communal riots occurred at Alexandria in AD 53 and 66. Subsequently, the hostility between Greeks and Jews was complicated by the rise of Jewish nationalist opposition to Roman rule. The troubles culminated in the great Jewish revolt of AD 115, the immediate causes of which are obscure. This revolt began in Cyrenaica, where the local Jews seized control and massacred the Greek population. Greek refugees from Cyrenaica fled to Egypt, where they instigated a retaliatory massacre of the Jews of Alexandria. The Jews of Cyrenaica then invaded Egypt and besieged Alexandria, and the Jews of Cyprus and Mesopotamia, though not of the Jewish homeland, also revolted. The revolt was suppressed with great bloodshed, and thereafter, though a Jewish community survived at Alexandria, it was apparently so reduced in size that the Egyptian 'Jewish problem' ceased to be of any importance.

By the second century AD, however, Egypt had other equally serious internal problems, as the pernicious effects of the Roman system of taxation became apparent. The heavy demands of Roman taxation,

though they could be met without difficulty in years of good harvest, were a severe burden when the harvest was poor, and the Romans showed little readiness to moderate their demands in difficult years. This resulted in the progressive impoverishment of the Egyptian population. Already in the first century AD there is evidence of rural depopulation, as farmers unable to pay their taxes abandoned their farms and took to brigandage in the marshes of the Delta. The Roman response to this problem was to hold each village collectively responsible for the cultivation of the land belonging to such fugitives and for the payment of the taxes due upon it, thus increasing the burden on the farmers who remained. During the second century AD, the economic situation of the rural population of Egypt continued to deteriorate, and rural discontent was expressed in two serious risings among the native Egyptians, in AD 152-4 and 172.

An attempt to remedy the problems of Egypt was made by the Emperor Septimius Severus during a visit to the country in AD 199-201. Besides various short-term palliatives, including an amnesty for fugitive farmers, Severus undertook a substantial reorganization of the Egyptian administrative system. Severus conceded the long-standing demand of Alexandria (cf. p. 194) for the restoration of its municipal senate, and at the same time established senates in the capitals of each of the Egyptian nomes. Though the senates of the nomes were subordinate to the *strategoi*, the change could be represented as a grant of a measure of municipal self-government. Its primary significance, however, was financial, since the members of each senate were made collectively responsible for the collection of imperial taxation in its nome. The ultimate effect of this was to complete the financial ruin of the wealthier classes in Egypt. The grant of Roman citizenship to all freeborn inhabitants of the empire in AD 212 further increased the burden of taxation in Egypt, since Egyptians now became liable to certain taxes levied on citizens (principally a 5% tax on inheritances) while remaining subject to the Egyptian poll-tax. During the third century AD, however, the poll-tax appears to have declined in importance, being replaced by a tax on landed wealth and by communal levies of corn. What is clear is that the economic decline of Egypt continued and accelerated throughout the third century.

Cyrenaica, annexed by the Romans in 74 BC, was always administered separately from Egypt. After the Roman annexation of Crete in 67 BC, Crete and Cyrenaica were usually combined together to form a single

province. The Greek cities of Cyrenaica, like those of Egypt, retained their municipal autonomy under the Romans, and Cyrenaica remained Greek in language and culture. The Greek cities benefited from effective Roman action against the local tribes of nomadic Libyans, successful wars being fought against the Marmaridai in (?) AD 2 and against the Nasamones c. AD 86. Apart from these campaigns, Cyrenaica seems to have presented few military problems to the Romans, and the province was normally garrisoned only by a small force of non-Roman auxiliary troops.

As has been seen, Cyrenaica as well as Egypt suffered during the early Roman period from tensions between its Greek and Jewish populations. The Jewish community in Cyrenaica appears, like that of Alexandria, to have originated during the Ptolemaic period, but much less is known of its early history. Though there is evidence of Greek resentment at Jewish privileges in Cyrenaica, we do not hear of any attacks by Greek mobs on the Jews similar to those in Egypt. However, an abortive Jewish nationalist-messianic rising in Cyrenaica had to be suppressed by the Roman authorities in AD 73. In the great revolt of AD 115, the Jews in Cyrenaica were initially successful, and carried out a massacre of the Greek population, in which some 220,000 Greeks are alleged to have perished. This figure is doubtless grossly exaggerated, but extensive material destruction in the cities of Cyrenaica on this occasion is attested by archaeological evidence. The Roman Emperor Hadrian, after suppressing the Jewish revolt, had to undertake a substantial programme of rebuilding to make good the damage. He also effected the repopulation of the province by bringing in new settlers, and founded a new city named (after himself) Adrianopolis on the coast between Berenice and Ptolemais.

Economically, Cyrenaica presumably benefited from the restoration of order after the misgovernment of the last years of independence before 74 BC. But a principal source of Cyrenaean wealth, the export of the medicinal plant *silphion* (cf. chapter 2, p. 110), was lost during the first century of Roman rule, when this plant became extinct. It is alleged that the Libyans of the interior maliciously destroyed the *silphion* roots. The Cyrenaean economy became principally dependent upon stock-breeding: besides cattle and sheep, camels (introduced from Egypt) appear to have become numerous during the early Roman period. An economic decline is suggested by the fact that, even with the official rebuilding efforts of Hadrian, some of the buildings destroyed in the revolt of AD 115 were not restored for seventy or eighty years.

TRIPOLITANIA AND NORTH-WEST AFRICA

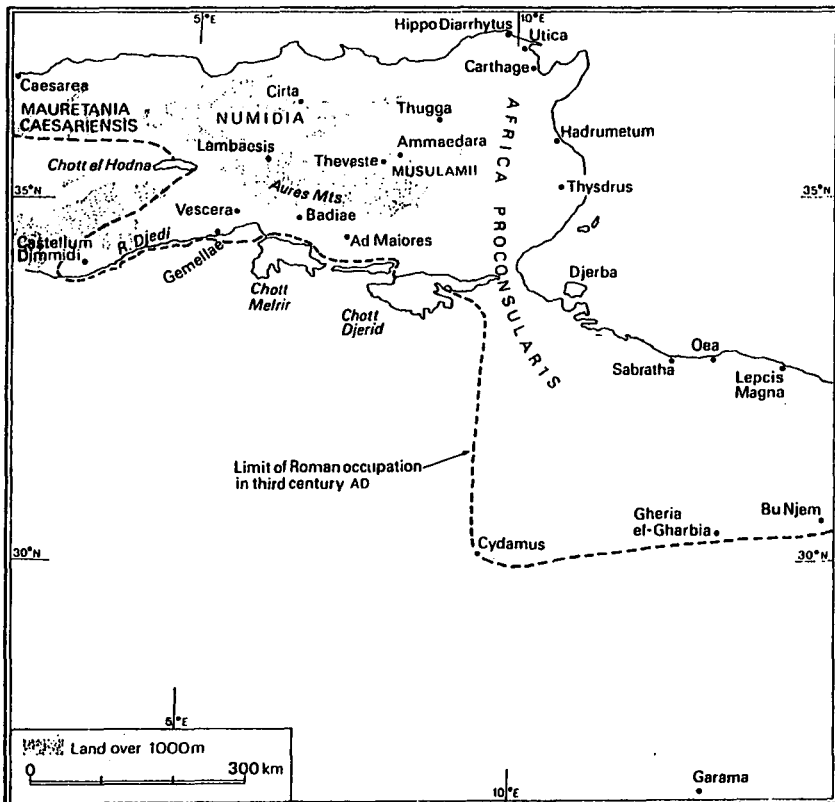
TRIPOLITANIA AND NORTH-WEST AFRICA UNDER ROMAN RULE

In the west, it will be recalled, the establishment of Roman rule began with the annexation of the remaining territory of Carthage, as the province of 'Africa', in 146 BC. A second Roman province, 'Africa Nova' or 'New Africa', was added with the annexation of the eastern Numidian kingdom of Juba I in 46 BC. Western Numidia, including Cirta, was presumably absorbed into the province of Africa Nova after the death of its last independent king, Arabio, in 40 BC. Subsequently, the Emperor Augustus united the two provinces, together with the previously independent coastal cities of Tripolitania, to form a single province, 'Africa Proconsularis' or 'Proconsular Africa', so called because it was a senatorial province governed by a *proconsul*. In c. AD 40 the western portion of Africa Proconsularis, including its legionary garrison, was placed under an imperial *legatus*, and in effect became the separate province of Numidia, though the *legatus* of Numidia remained nominally subordinate to the *proconsul* of Africa until AD 203. Mauretania, annexed in AD 40, was normally administered as two separate provinces under equestrian *procuratores*: Mauretania Caesariensis, administered from Caesarea, in the east, and Mauretania Tingitana, which was named after the town of Tingi but seems usually to have had its governor resident at Volubilis, in the west.

Africa Proconsularis probably originally had a garrison of two or even three legions, but by the end of the reign of Augustus it had been reduced to a single legion, the Third Augustan Legion (*Legio III Augusta*). After c. AD 40, this legion was under the command of the *legatus* of Numidia. It was stationed originally at Ammaedara (Haidra), but in the latter half of the first century AD it was moved, first south-west to Theveste, and then west to Lambaesis. The garrison of Mauretania after AD 40 normally consisted only of non-Roman (including Spanish, Gallic and Asian) auxiliary troops. Tripolitania and North-West Africa continued to present military problems to the Romans throughout the period of their rule, as they sought to protect the areas which they held against the incursions of the largely nomadic peoples of the interior. Several campaigns were fought by governors of Africa Proconsularis in the early years of Augustus, but no details are recorded except in the case of two punitive raids deep into the interior undertaken in c. 20 BC, against Vescera (Biskra) and other native settlements beyond the Aures mountains to the south of Numidia, and against Cydamus

(Ghadames) and Garama (Djerma), the capital of the Garamantes of the Fezzan, in the hinterland of Tripolitania. In AD 6 Roman forces had to intervene in Mauretania (then an independent kingdom), to suppress a revolt of the Gaetuli, who had raided Roman territory and won the support of the Musulamii, a Numidian tribe inhabiting the area to the east of Theveste. There was a more serious revolt of the Musulamii in AD 17–24, led by Tacfarinas, a local man who had served as an auxiliary in the Roman army, which was supported by the Garamantes of the Fezzan and by some of the Mauri. The annexation of Mauretania in AD 40 brought further trouble, provoking a revolt among the Mauri which again infected the tribes of southern Numidia. Thereafter, apart from a raid on Lepcis Magna by the Garamantes in AD 69, serious trouble seems to have been largely restricted to Mauretania, where there were major risings in AD 118–22 and AD 144–52.

It was apparently only in Numidia that the Romans established a



26 Numidia and Africa Proconsularis.

permanent military occupation of extensive areas in the interior. Under the Emperor Trajan (AD 98-117), a line of Roman forts was constructed in the plain to the south of the Aures mountains, from Ad Maiores (Besseriani) in the east to Vescera (Biskra) in the west, though the Aures massif itself, which separated Vescera from the legionary headquarters at Lambaesis, does not seem to have been penetrated by Roman troops until the 140s. The territory won in southern Numidia was protected by an elaborate *limes* ('frontier'), a defensive system of forts organized in depth, the principal feature of which was an earthen wall and ditch (*fossatum*). Beyond the *limes* proper, advanced outposts were established at Gemellae (Mlili), on the Wadi Djedi south-west of Vescera, in AD 126, and at Castellum Dimmidi (Messad), on the upper Djedi to the south of the Saharan Atlas, in AD 198. The territorial extent and frontier organization of the Roman provinces in Mauretania are much more obscure, but it is clear that Roman authority was never established over the highlands of the Rif and the Atlas and remained restricted to the coastal plains. In Tripolitania, the extension of permanent military occupation into the interior was undertaken only under the Emperor Septimius Severus (AD 193-211). The *limes* in this area (known as the *Limes Tripolitanus* or 'Tripolitanian Limes') does not appear to have included a linear earthwork as in Numidia. Numerous small forts were established in the immediate hinterland, and three isolated outposts deep in the interior, at Cydamus (Ghadames), Gheria el-Garbia and Bu Njem, which guarded the approaches to Tripolitania from the Fezzan.

In contrast to the situation in Egypt and Cyrenaica, the Roman provinces in the west received a substantial number of Roman colonists. Roman colonization in North-West Africa began in 122 BC, when it was proposed to settle landless Roman citizens from Italy at the deserted site of Carthage. Though this project was eventually abandoned, some of the settlers arrived and were allowed to retain their allotments of land in the Carthage area. Subsequent Roman colonization involved principally the settlement of demobilized soldiers from the Roman army. Some of the soldiers who fought in the war against Jugurtha of Numidia (111-105 BC) were granted land in the province of Africa, one colony being established on the island of Djerba in the Gulf of Gabes. After 46 BC, Caesar made further settlements of military veterans in Africa, while his ally Sittius settled his soldiers at Cirta and elsewhere in Numidia. Caesar also projected the foundation of a Roman colony on the site of Carthage, but this was carried out only after his assassination

in 44 BC. The new Carthage grew to be the largest city in North-West Africa, and became the capital of the province of Africa Proconsularis. Later, Augustus founded numerous settlements of demobilized soldiers in North-West Africa, including several colonies established in Mauretania during the brief period of Roman rule there in 33-25 BC, and further military colonies were founded in Mauretania after its annexation in AD 40. Roman colonization in North-West Africa normally took the form of the settlement of Romans in existing Phoenician or native townships rather than the establishment of completely new communities.

The romanization of the western provinces was effected as much through the assimilation of the existing population as through the introduction of Roman colonists. Roman citizenship was granted to many of Phoenician or native African origin even before the decree of AD 212 extended the privilege to all free provincials. Citizenship was granted to individual Africans as a reward for particular services to Rome probably from the earliest period of Roman rule, and the practice later developed of conferring upon African townships (usually townships whose population already included a substantial proportion of Roman citizens) a communal grant either of full citizenship or of the inferior 'Latin status',¹ under which the senior magistrates of the township became Roman citizens *ex officio*. The latter process began with the granting of Latin status to the town of Utica in 59 BC, and grants of this sort were made extensively in Africa by Augustus and the later emperors. Many Africans not only attained Roman citizenship, but rose to occupy positions of importance in the Roman empire, the most dramatic instance being that of Septimius Severus, of the Phoenician city of Leptis Magna, who became Emperor of Rome in AD 193.²

Under the impact of Roman colonization and assimilation, the civilization of North-West Africa lost the Phoenician character which it had acquired under Carthaginian domination. Latin gradually replaced Punic as the language of the urban centres, though the population of the rural areas continued to speak principally Libyan (Berber). The North African townships adopted municipal constitutions of Roman type, and were reconstructed in Roman style with public baths, amphitheatres for gladiatorial shows, and aqueducts to supply fresh

¹ So called because it was modelled on the status originally granted by Rome to the neighbouring cities of Latium.

² In addition to Septimius Severus and his descendants, two of the ephemeral emperors of the third century were of African origin, viz. Macrinus (AD 217-18), a Mauretanian, and Aemilianus (AD 253), a native of the island of Djerba.

drinking water. North Africa even produced several of the leading figures of the Latin literary world, notably Apuleius of Madauros, author of the romance *The golden ass* (c. AD 170). African dominance was still more marked in the literature of the Latin-speaking branch of the Christian church, beginning with Tertullian of Carthage in the early third century AD (see chapter 7, pp. 455ff.). The Phoenician culture of North-West Africa, however, for some time showed considerable tenacity. Punic remained the official language of several North African towns well into the first century AD, and unofficial Punic inscriptions survive from even later, including some of the fourth century AD in the Latin alphabet.¹ Phoenician institutions such as the magistracy of the *sufets* can also be traced during the first century AD, not only in Phoenician towns such as Lepcis Magna, but also in indigenous towns such as Thugga in Numidia and Volubilis in Mauretania. Phoenician influence proved most durable in the sphere of religion. The Carthaginian supreme deities Baal Hammon and Tanit (cf. chapter 2, p. 132) retained their popularity in North Africa, only thinly disguised under Latin names as Saturnus and Caelestis, until the mass conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity in the latter half of the third century AD. If we can believe contemporary Christian propaganda, even the Phoenician rite of infant sacrifice, though technically illegal, persisted into the third century AD.

North-West Africa, like Egypt, was principally important to the Roman empire as a source of corn. In the first century AD, it could be said that Egypt supplied the corn requirements of the city of Rome for four months, and Africa for eight months of each year.² The principal corn-producing areas were, as in pre-Roman times, the northern areas of the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Numidia. The Roman period also saw a considerable growth in the production of olive-oil in North Africa. Besides the hinterland of Tripolitania, an important source of oil even in pre-Roman times, extensive areas were turned over to olive cultivation in the southern parts of Proconsularis and Numidia. By the systematic construction of wells and irrigation canals, the

¹ See F. Millar, 'Local cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin in Roman Africa', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1968, 58, 126-34. It is disputed whether the later references of Augustine (late fourth-early fifth century) and Procopius (sixth century) to the use of the 'Punic' or 'Phoenician' language in the rural areas of North-West Africa should be understood to refer to Punic or to Berber. See, in addition to Millar, W. H. C. Frend, 'Note on the Berber background in the life of Augustine', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1942, 43, 188-91; C. Courtois, 'Saint Augustin et le problème de la survivance du Punique', *Revue Africaine*, 1950, 94, 259-82; E.-F. Gautier, *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs* (Paris, 1952), 118-44.

² Josephus, *The Jewish war*, II.383, 386.

Romans effected a substantial expansion of the area under cultivation, principally in Numidia and Africa Proconsularis but also on a smaller scale in Mauretania and Tripolitania. The achievement is reflected in the impressions of the North African writer Tertullian:

Famous marshes have been blotted out by fair estates, forests have been conquered by ploughed fields, wild beasts have been put to flight by flocks of sheep, the sands are sown, the rocks planted, the marshes drained, there are more towns than there used to be huts . . . everywhere there are houses, people, organised government, life.¹

It was apparently also under Roman rule, probably during the third century AD, that the use of camels as beasts of burden for the first time became common in Tripolitania and North-West Africa. It is sometimes suggested that the Roman authorities were responsible for the introduction of the camel in the west, but there is no direct evidence for this, and it may have been due rather to the nomadic tribes of the northern Sahara outside Roman territory.²

The Romans also developed trade with the areas outside their formal control in the interior. From the hinterland of Mauretania they obtained principally cedar-wood and wild animals of various kinds for slaughter in the 'Games'. Initially, Mauretania was also an important source of ivory, but ivory-hunting to supply Roman demands rapidly diminished the elephant population of North-West Africa: supplies of ivory from Mauretania were already dwindling in the first century AD, and by the fourth century the North African elephant was believed to be extinct. In Tripolitania, Lepcis Magna and the other coastal cities developed a lucrative trade across the desert with the Garamantes of the Fezzan. They imported from the Garamantes principally the precious stones (of uncertain provenance) known as 'carbuncles', and probably also (after the failure of ivory supplies from Mauretania) ivory from the Sudan.

There can be no doubt that initially, and for many years, the imposition of Roman rule was enormously beneficial to North Africa. In contrast to their treatment of Egypt, the Romans did not impose taxation at a level which jeopardized North African prosperity. Rather, they did much to enrich and civilize North Africa, continuing the work

¹ Tertullian, *De Anima*, xxx.3. This passage does not refer specifically to Africa, but to the world in general. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that it reflects primarily conditions in Tertullian's homeland.

² Both the date and the circumstances of the introduction of the camel into Tripolitania and North-West Africa are controversial: see e.g. O. Brogan, 'The camel in Roman Tripolitania', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1954, 22, 126-31; E. W. Bovill, 'The camel and the Garamantes', *Antiquity*, 1956, 30, 19-21; Gautier, *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, 177-96. See also ch. 5, pp. 288-90.

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begun by the Carthaginians and the indigenous kings of Numidia and Mauretania of encouraging the development of agriculture, urbanization and literacy among the North African peoples. The most flourishing period of Roman urban civilization in North Africa was that of the rule of the Severi (AD 193–235), the dynasty of African origin, whose rulers took an active interest in the development of their homeland. But the prosperity of North Africa came to an end during the third century AD. At the risk of some oversimplification, the beginning of the decline can be dated from the year AD 238, in which there were serious disturbances inside the province of Africa Proconsularis. These began with a rising at the town of Thysdrus (El Djem) against excessive exactions by the imperial tax-collectors. This rising quickly broadened into a rebellion against the then emperor, Maximinus, and the *proconsul* of Africa, Gordianus, was proclaimed emperor by the insurgents. This initiated a general rebellion against Maximinus throughout the empire, and Maximinus was eventually overthrown. In North Africa, however, the *legatus* of Numidia, who controlled the only legionary force (*Legio III Augusta*) in the area, remained loyal to Maximinus, and intervened in Africa Proconsularis to crush the revolt of Gordianus. The legionary troops then proceeded to sack and plunder several of the towns of the province. The fragility of the economic basis of the urbanization which the Romans had stimulated in Africa Proconsularis is indicated by the fact that its towns never fully recovered from the material destruction inflicted upon them on this occasion.

DECLINE AND REORGANIZATION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE THIRD CENTURY AD

During the third century AD the Roman empire suffered a prolonged period of political and economic crisis. The overthrow of the Emperor Maximinus in AD 238 was followed by a half a century of instability and civil war as rival claimants fought for the position of emperor. These internal disorders were exploited by hostile neighbours of the empire, who seized the opportunity to raid or even to annex its frontier provinces. The economic dislocation caused by these disturbances was exacerbated by an uncontrolled inflation, due to the progressive debasement of the imperial coinage. Order was eventually restored, and a systematic reorganization of the empire undertaken, by the Emperor Diocletian (AD 284–305). The abdication of Diocletian was followed by a further brief period of disorder, until the supreme power

passed to Constantine (AD 307-37), who is best known for having established Christianity as the official religion of the Roman empire and for having (in AD 330) transferred the imperial capital to Byzantium (Constantinople). The power of the empire was, however, permanently impaired.

In Egypt, the impoverishment of the population by excessive taxation and compulsory 'liturgies' was exacerbated rather than checked by the administrative reforms of Septimius Severus in AD 199-201 (cf. p. 197), and the economic decline continued throughout the third century. A second attempt at a systematic reorganization of the Egyptian administration under the Emperor Philip 'the Arabian' (AD 244-9) was equally ineffective. During the latter half of the third century, Egypt suffered also from the raids of the Blemmyes of the Eastern Desert, who overran Upper Egypt in AD 249 and on several subsequent occasions. In AD 269 Egypt was briefly lost to the Roman empire, when it was occupied by the forces of Zenobia, queen of the Arab state of Palmyra. The Palmyrenes enjoyed considerable local support in Egypt, but were expelled by the Romans in AD 272. Two years later, in AD 274, there was a serious rising at Alexandria, and there were further revolts at Coptos and Busiris in Upper Egypt in AD 291 and at Alexandria in AD 296-7. The condition of Cyrenaica during this period is more obscure, but it appears that a campaign against the local Libyan tribe, the Marmaridai, was necessary c. AD 268.

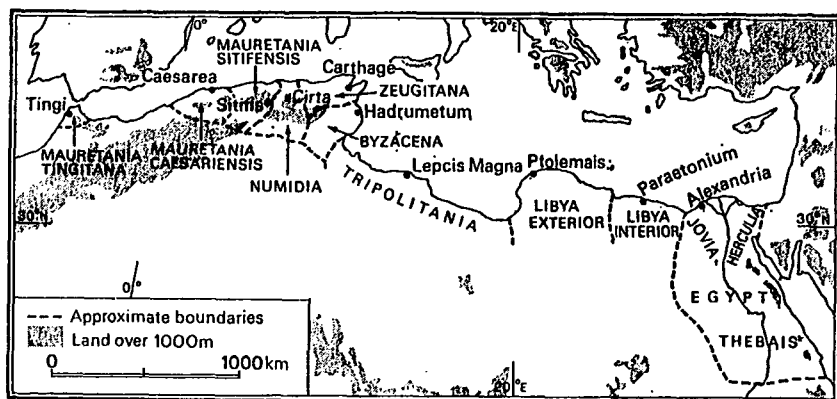
In North-West Africa, the sole legion in the Roman garrison, *Legio III Augusta*, was dissolved after the fall of Maximinus as a punishment for its role in the defeat of Gordianus in AD 238. The defence of the Roman provinces in North-West Africa was then left entirely to auxiliary forces, until the legion was reconstituted in AD 253. During this period, the area under Roman occupation was reduced, as advanced outposts such as Castellum Dimmidi in Numidia and the forts at Ghadames, Gheria el-Garbia and Bu Njem in the hinterland of Tripolitania were abandoned. In the latter half of the third century AD, there was a recrudescence of trouble with the tribes of the interior. In AD 253-62 a major war was necessary against three hitherto unrecorded peoples, the Quinquegentiani (i.e. the 'People of the Five Tribes'), the Bavares and the Fraxinenses, who had broken into the provinces of Mauretania Caesariensis and Numidia. A second war was fought against the Quinquegentiani and the Bavares in AD 289-97. Trouble of a different character, but equally ruinous to the prosperity of North-West Africa, was represented by a revolt of the Roman governor of Africa in AD 305,

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in suppressing which the imperial forces sacked the towns of Carthage and Cirta.

The reforms of Diocletian sought to prevent a recurrence of the troubles of the third century by increased centralization. The pretence, maintained to some degree since Augustus, that the emperor shared authority with the Senate was abandoned, and an overt autocracy was established. In the sphere of provincial administration, the distinction between senatorial and imperial provinces (cf. pp. 191–2) disappeared, and all the provinces were brought under the emperor's control. To reduce the danger of revolts by provincial governors, the provinces were reduced in size by subdivision, and military and civil authority in the provinces was separated. A few of the new provinces were still administered by ex-consuls with the title *proconsul*, others by senators of lower rank with the title *corrector* or by officials of equestrian rank with the title *praeses*. Adjacent provinces were grouped together to form twelve regional divisions of the empire called 'dioceses' (*dioeceses*), each of which was placed under the immediate authority of an equestrian 'vicar' (*vicarius*) responsible to the emperor. The senior military commanders, who were by now always recruited from men of equestrian rank only, bore the title of 'duke' (*dux*) or 'count' (*comes*). Diocletian also reorganized the imperial system of taxation, extending to the whole empire the practice originally developed in Egypt (cf. p. 197) of replacing money-taxes by a tax on agricultural produce levied in kind (the *annona*).

Under Diocletian's reorganization of the provinces, Egypt and Cyrenaica were grouped with the provinces of Syria to form the



27 Roman provinces in Africa, early fourth century AD.

'diocese' of the East (*Oriens*). Egypt was subdivided to form three new provinces – the Thebais, Aegyptus Jovia (the western Delta, including Alexandria) and Aegyptus Herculia (the eastern Delta) – though the governor of Aegyptus Jovia retained the title of *praefectus* of Egypt and authority over the *praesides* of the other two provinces. Cyrenaica was divided into two: Libya Exterior (Outer Libya) in the west, administered from Ptolemais, and Libya Interior (Inner Libya) in the east, administered from Paraetonium. The former provinces of Africa Proconsularis, Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis were combined to form the 'diocese' of Africa. Africa Proconsularis was divided into three new provinces: the northern portion, including the capital Carthage, became the province of Zeugitana (also called Proconsularis, since it was still governed by a *proconsul*); the southern portion became the province of Byzacena, administered from Hadrumetum; and Tripolitania became a separate province, with its capital at Lepcis Magna. Mauretania Caesariensis was divided into two, the eastern portion becoming the separate province of Mauretania Sitifensis, administered from Sitifis (Setif). Numidia was also divided by Diocletian, the north becoming the province of Numidia Cirtensis, with its capital at Cirta, while the south (the Aures area) became Numidia Militiana ('Military Numidia'), administered from the legionary headquarters at Lambaesis. Subsequently, however, the Emperor Constantine reunited the two Numidian provinces under Cirta, which at the same time received its modern name, Constantine, in his honour. In the far west, Mauretania Tingitana, which was not divided, was attached to the 'diocese' of Spain. The military commands in Africa did not altogether correspond to the new groupings of provinces and 'dioceses'. There were separate *duces* for Egypt, the two Libyas and Tripolitania, and a *comes* of Africa whose responsibility covered Zeugitana, Byzacena, Numidia, Mauretania Sitifensis and Mauretania Caesariensis. The *dux* of Mauretania Tingitana also had military responsibility for Spain.

Diocletian's reorganization of the African provinces also involved a further substantial contraction of the area under Roman occupation. In several areas the frontier defences were rationalized by pulling back the Roman garrisons from outlying areas. This withdrawal was most marked in Egypt and in Mauretania. In Egypt, which had for several years suffered raids from the Blemmyes to the south, Diocletian withdrew the boundary of Roman authority to the First Cataract, and invited a people called the Nobatae to settle in Lower Nubia as allies of Rome in order to defend Upper Egypt against the Blemmyes. At the

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same time, he agreed to pay an annual subsidy to both the Nobatae and the Blemmyes (see also chapter 4, pp. 269-70). In North-West Africa, much of the hinterland of Mauretania Tingitana and the westernmost portion of Mauretania Caesariensis appear to have been evacuated. The two provinces were separated by a considerable tract of independent country, and Mauretania Tingitana was reduced to a small coastal area, even the former administrative headquarters at Volubilis being abandoned.

Though the reforms of Diocletian thus represented a contraction as well as a reorganization of the Roman empire in Africa, the Romans were able to maintain their position in North-West Africa until the Vandal conquest of AD 429 and in Egypt until the Arab conquest of AD 639. However, Diocletian's reforms, together with the action of Constantine in granting official recognition to the Christian Church, so transformed the character of the Roman empire that it has become conventional to regard the reign of Constantine as marking the beginning of a distinct historical period, and this is treated separately in chapter 7.

2. NORTH AFRICA, c. 800 TO 323 BC

suggested for more detailed appreciations, as well as journals such as *Azania* (British Institute in Eastern Africa, Nairobi); *ASEQUA* (Bulletin de Liaison of the Association Sénégalaise pour l'Étude du Quaternaire de l'Ouest africain); *Libyca*; *The West African Journal of Archaeology* (Ibadan, Nigeria); the *South African Archaeological Bulletin* (Cape Town); and the *South African Journal of Science* (Johannesburg).

2. NORTH AFRICA, c. 800 TO 323 BC

The period from the eighth to the fourth centuries BC is covered in Volumes 3 to 6 of the *Cambridge Ancient History*: this deals fully with events in Egypt, but is much less helpful for the history of Cyrenaica and Carthage during this period. It is by now, of course, considerably out of date, especially as regards archaeological evidence.

There are no contemporary records of the establishment of the Phoenician and Greek settlements in northern Africa. The history of Phoenician and Greek colonization has to be reconstructed on the basis of archaeological evidence and traditions recorded later by Greek historians. The literature of the Phoenicians themselves is lost, and Phoenician traditions survive only in so far as they are reported by Greek writers. A very useful general survey of early Greek colonization, with emphasis on the archaeological evidence, is given by Boardman (1973). For the Phoenicians and their colonizing activities, the best general account, again emphasizing the archaeological evidence, is that by Harden (1971). The account by Moscati (1968) is also useful, but the more recent work by Herm (1975) is slighter and much less valuable. For the chronology of Phoenician settlement in the western Mediterranean, one can still usefully consult Carpenter (1958).

The part of northern Africa whose history is best documented in this period is, of course, Egypt. Indigenous sources, represented by monumental inscriptions and papyrus documents, are relatively numerous. For the XXVIth Dynasty (663–525 BC) the main indigenous sources can be found in Volume 4 of Breasted (1906–7), while those for the first period of Persian rule (525–404 BC) are brought together by Posener (1936). The papyrus documents relating to the Jewish colony at Elephantine can be found in Cowley (1923). Supplementary contemporary documentation is provided by the records of the other major Near Eastern empires with which Egypt was in contact, such as Assyria, Babylon and Persia: for the period of the XXVIth Dynasty, the relevant Babylonian documents can be found in Wiseman (1961). In

addition, there are the Greek sources. Little of the Greek material is contemporary, the major sources being later accounts based on traditions or upon earlier written sources no longer extant. For the XXVIth Dynasty and the early Persian period, the main Greek source is Herodotus: an evaluation of his evidence for the period of the XXVIth dynasty is offered by De Meulenaere (1951). For the revolt of Inaros in the mid fifth century BC, the main authority is Thucydides; for events in the fourth century, the principal source is Diodorus Siculus; while Alexander's conquest of Egypt in the late fourth century is recounted by Arrian. For Greek settlement in Egypt, archaeological evidence is also crucial: the relevant archaeological evidence is usefully summarized by Boardman (1973). The history of Egypt during the whole period 663 to 323 BC is treated briefly in the general histories of Egypt by Gardiner (1961) and Drioton and Vandier (1962). Fuller accounts can be found in Elgood (1951), and especially in Kienitz (1953) and Gyles (1959). For relations between Egypt and its southern neighbour, the kingdom of Kush, see also Arkell (1961). Greek involvement in Egypt during the seventh and sixth centuries BC is discussed by Austin (1970). For the policy of 'Ahmose (569-525 BC) towards the Greeks in Egypt, the article by Cook (1937) is also useful, while the evidence suggesting that the Greeks were responsible for the introduction of iron-working into Egypt is discussed by Williams (1969).

The history of the Greek settlements in Cyrenaica rests upon a combination of Greek literary sources, archaeological evidence and local monumental inscriptions. For the seventh and sixth centuries BC the principal literary source is Herodotus, whose account was based upon oral traditions. For the fifth and fourth centuries, evidence on Cyrenaica in Greek literature is exiguous, though some useful material can be found in Diodorus Siculus. The archaeological evidence for the establishment of the Greek settlements in Cyrenaica is extensive, and can be found summarized in Boardman (1966, 1973). Local inscriptions in this period are not numerous, but there are some of considerable importance: an inscription which purports to record the circumstances of the foundation of Cyrene is discussed by Graham (1960), while an inscription of the late fourth century BC which is important for internal political and social developments is discussed by Kwapong (1969). For the Greek occupation of Cyrenaica, and for the history of Cyrene under the Battiad dynasty (c. 639 to c. 439 BC), there is a very useful general account by Chamoux (1953), though this needs updating in the light of the archaeological evidence reported by Boardman. For the relations

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of Cyrene with the Persian empire, see also Mitchell (1966). The history of Cyrenaica after the fall of the Battiad dynasty has not attracted comparable treatment – a reflection of the fragmentary character of the sources for this later period. For a discussion of the oracle of Zeus Ammon and its significance in the Greek world, see Parke (1967).

For the history of Carthage and its empire, we are primarily dependent upon the evidence of Greek and Roman writers, since the literature of the Carthaginians themselves is lost. The principal source for early Carthaginian history is Diodorus Siculus; additional material of importance is to be found in Justin, Polybius, Livy, Appian and Strabo. This foreign material varies greatly in quality, illuminates primarily the relations of the Carthaginians with the Greeks and Romans, and becomes reasonably detailed and reliable only from the late fifth century BC. For the history of Phoenician and Carthaginian colonization in northern Africa, archaeological evidence is also important, though very uneven: the evidence is most accessibly summarized in Harden (1971). Carthaginian epigraphic material is not voluminous, and contributes little. The history of Carthage is treated at great length in Volumes 1 to 4 of Gsell (1913–29). More succinct and more up-to-date accounts can be found in Warmington (1969), which is probably the most useful, Charles-Picard (1964, 1968) and Hubac (1952). For the fifth-century BC crisis in Carthaginian history, which led to the emergence of Carthage as an African as well as a Mediterranean power, see also Hands (1969). For the character of Carthaginian civilization, there is a useful general compilation by Charles-Picard (1958); for Carthaginian religion, see also Charles-Picard (1954) and, for the specific problem of the origins of the goddess Tanit, Giustolisi (1970). A useful summary of Carthaginian administrative practice in North Africa, as far as it can be reconstructed, is given by Ilevbare (1974); for Carthaginian activities in Morocco and Tripolitania see also, respectively, Cintas (1954) and Merighi (1940); and for Carthaginian involvement in the trans-Saharan trade, see Carpenter (1956) and Law (1967). For Carthaginian maritime enterprise down the Atlantic coast of Africa, the main sources are Herodotus, the *Periplus* of Hanno, and the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax: the texts of Hanno and Pseudo-Skylax are to be found in Müller (1855–61). Hanno's *Periplus* purports to be a Greek translation of a Phoenician original, but Germain (1957) regards it as a Greek forgery. The problems of Hanno's voyage have been extensively discussed by modern scholars: among the more useful contributions are, in addition to that of Germain, those

of Cary and Warmington (1963), Carcopino (1943), Harden (1948), Rousseau (1949), Mauny (1955a, 1955b) and Charles-Picard (1958).

For the history of the 'Libyans', the indigenous peoples of northern Africa west of Egypt, in this period there is little evidence. The Libyans themselves were illiterate, and Greek literature is not generous with information about them. The main Greek source for the Libyans in this period is Herodotus. The earlier account of Hekataios is unfortunately lost: extant fragments of it are collected in Jacoby (1923—). Useful material can also be derived from later writers such as Strabo and Pliny. Archaeological evidence for the ancient Libyans, apart from rock-art, is exiguous, but some information can be gleaned from the general surveys of North African prehistory by Wulsin (1941) and McBurney (1960); for the use of copper in north-western Africa in this period, see also Camps (1960). The problem of the language of the ancient Libyans is dealt with by Bynon (1970). There is as yet no general account of the culture of the ancient Libyans, but an exhaustively detailed description of the eastern Libyan peoples is offered by Bates (1914), and a brief but useful account of the Garamantes of the Fezzan by Daniels (1970).

3. NORTH AFRICA, 323 BC TO AD 305

The period from the late fourth century BC to the early fourth century AD is covered in Volumes 7 to 12 of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. For the Hellenistic period, this deals adequately with Egypt and Carthage, but is more cursory in its treatment of the history of Cyrenaica and the indigenous kingdoms of the Maghrib. For the Roman period, its coverage is more even. It requires, of course, substantial updating in the light of the literature of the last forty years.

The history of Egypt and Cyrenaica during the Hellenistic period (late fourth to first centuries BC) needs to be seen in the context of the history of the Greek world as a whole. Useful introductions to the history and civilization of the Hellenistic world are Tarn and Griffith (1952) and Rostovtzeff (1941). The history of Egypt in this period is lavishly, if unevenly, documented, not only by narrative histories such as those of Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, but also by monumental inscriptions and the voluminous papyrus documents. A useful introduction to the character of the papyrus documentation of this period can be found in Bell (1948). Evidence for the history of Cyrenaica is much more fragmentary, comprising only occasional references in the

literary histories and a few inscriptions. The best general account of Egypt under the dynasty of the Ptolemies (323–30 BC) is still Bevan (1927); a much briefer treatment is offered by Bell (1948). The wealth of documentation, especially from the papyri, has been the basis for several substantial studies of particular aspects of the Egyptian state and Egyptian society in the Ptolemaic period: the economic activities of the Ptolemaic state are discussed by Préaux (1939); the military organization by Lesquier (1911); the legal system by Taubenschlag (1955); religion by Bell (1957); relations between Greek and Jewish settlers and the indigenous Egyptians by Davis (1951); artistic developments by Noshay (1937); and the culture of the capital city, Alexandria, by Fraser (1972) and Marlowe (1971). For relations between Egypt and the kingdom of Kush, see also Arkell (1961) and Shinnie (1967).

The history of Carthage during the third and second centuries BC, down to its destruction by the Romans in 146 BC, is based entirely on Greek and Roman sources: the principal sources are Polybius and Livy, with additional material of importance supplied by Appian and Justin. This period in Carthaginian history is adequately treated in the general histories of Carthage by Warmington (1969) and Charles-Picard (1968). There is also a detailed, but pedestrian, account of the wars between Rome and Carthage by Dorey and Dudley (1971), and a readable, but uncritical, biography of Hannibal, the principal hero of Carthaginian resistance to Rome, by De Beer (1969).

The history of the indigenous kingdoms of Numidia and Mauretania is also based primarily on Greek and Roman sources. For the period down to the death of the Numidian King Micipsa (118 BC), the principal sources are Polybius and Livy, supplemented by Appian; for the reign of Jugurtha (118–105 BC), there is the account of Sallust; for later times fragmentary documentation can be derived from the works of Appian, Cassius Dio, Caesar, Tacitus and others. The writings of Juba II, King of Mauretania (25 BC to AD 23), are unfortunately lost: surviving fragments are collected in Jacoby (1923—). Local inscriptions and coins supply a limited amount of supplementary information: for the numismatic evidence, see Mazard (1955). The history of the Numidian and Mauretanian kingdoms is treated in great detail in Volumes 5 to 8 of Gsell (1913–29). A more up-to-date account, whose scope is much more comprehensive than its title suggests, is provided by Camps (1960). The reign of the Numidian King Masinissa (206–148 BC) is also discussed, mainly with reference to his relations with Carthage and Rome, by Walsh (1965); the war of Jugurtha against Rome is treated by

Holroyd (1928); and some useful material on the later history of the Mauretanian kingdom can be found in Carcopino (1943).

The history of northern Africa during the period of Roman rule needs to be related to the history of the Roman empire as a whole. The classic study by Mommsen (1886), Volume 2 of which contains chapters dealing with Egypt and North Africa, is still worth reading. For the economic history of the empire, there is the massive study by Frank (1933-40), of which Volume 2 deals with Egypt and Volume 4 with North Africa. Other useful general studies of the Roman empire are Rostovtzeff (1957-63) and Millar *et al.* (1967). It is also illuminating to read the contemporary geographical compilations of Strabo and Pliny, both of which deal at some length with northern Africa.

The history of Egypt in this period continues to be relatively generously documented, principally by local epigraphic and papyrus records. General accounts of the history of Egypt as a Roman province are offered by Bell (1948) and Johnson (1951). Studies of particular topics include Wallace (1938) on taxation; Lesquier (1918) on military organization; Jouguet (1968) on the autonomous municipalities; Bell (1957) on religion; and Lindsay (1963, 1965) on various aspects of 'every-day' life. The tensions and disturbances surrounding the Jewish community in Alexandria have been studied in detail by many scholars, for example by Stuart Jones (1926), Bell (1931), Davis (1951), and Smallwood (1969); a sample of local anti-Semitic literature, preserved in papyrus, is given by Musurillo (1952). For the relations of Egypt with Kush in this period, Arkell (1961) and Shinnie (1967) need to be supplemented with Jameson (1968). For Greek commercial enterprise along the East African coast in this period, the principal source is the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Arrian, the text of which is in Müller (1855-61); a discussion can be found in Cary and Warmington (1963). The economic decline of Egypt under the Romans is examined by Milne (1927), and some third-century AD attempts at reform by Bell (1947) and Parsons (1967).

The history of Cyrenaica under the Romans is less fully documented. The main source of information is local epigraphic material: one important group of inscriptions is studied by De Visscher (1940). The basic history of Cyrenaica as a Roman province is Romanelli (1953). For the Jewish rebellion of AD 115, this can be supplemented with information from Smallwood (1969); while the efforts of the Emperor Hadrian to restore the cities of Cyrenaica after this catastrophe are discussed by Fraser (1950).

4. THE NILOTIC SUDAN AND ETHIOPIA

The history of North-West Africa during the Roman period is based primarily on local epigraphic and archaeological evidence. The best general history is Romanelli (1959). The general studies by Albertini (1949) and Charles-Picard (1959) are less substantial, but also of value. The recent general study in English by Raven (1969) is readable and well illustrated, but otherwise undistinguished. Useful studies of particular provinces are Merighi (1940) on Tripolitania and Broughton (1929) on Africa Proconsularis; while there is some interesting material on Roman Mauretania in Carcopino (1943). The military organization of the Roman provinces in North-West Africa is studied by Cagnat (1913); for the organization of frontier defence in the hinterland of Tripolitania see also Goodchild and Ward-Perkins (1949) and Goodchild (1950, 1954); and for the organization of the frontier further west, see Baradez (1949). A useful survey of Roman administrative practice is given by Ilevbare (1974); while Roman colonization and municipal organization are studied by Teutsch (1962), and more briefly and more accessibly by Thompson (1969). The religion of Roman Africa is discussed by Charles-Picard (1954), and its literary culture by Bouchier (1913). A biography of Septimius Severus, the most distinguished of the Roman emperors of North African origin, is provided by Birley (1971). The controversial problem of the survival of Punic culture and language under Roman rule has been treated by Frend (1942), Courtois (1950), Gautier (1952) and Millar (1968); the equally controversial history of the introduction of the camel by Gautier (1952), Brogan (1954) and Bovill (1956). For Roman involvement in the trans-Saharan trade, see Aurigemma (1940) and Law (1967).

The history of the North African elephant during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including its use in war by Egypt, Carthage and Numidia and its ultimate extinction, is documented by Scullard (1974). The question of Greek and Roman perceptions of black Africans during the same period is the subject of Snowden (1970).

4. THE NILOTIC SUDAN AND ETHIOPIA

A virtually complete bibliography up to 1963 is given in Gadallah (1963). Meroitic studies are still very heavily dependent on the basic excavation reports and descriptions of standing monuments and few attempts have been made to produce a synthetic statement. In the absence of readable Meroitic texts, all writers must rely on archaeological evidence, except for the period when historical inscriptions in

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